

THE  
*Annals, &c.*  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
OF  
PORTUGAL.

BY  
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and of the BELLES LETTRES.

Translated from the French.

G L A S G O W:

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THE  
TRANSLATOR'S  
P R E F A C E.

AMONGST all the Historians of the last century, as none have acquired, so not any of them have deserved, a greater reputation than our author.

And indeed there could not be any man fitter to undertake this work than L'Abbé Vertot, as being master of an excellent style, and having all the opportunities imaginable of informing himself of the truth; besides, he could have no interest in speaking partially of either the one or the other party; and therefore he might say, much more justly than Sallust, *de conjuratione, quam verissime potero, paucis absolvam; eoque*

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*magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus  
reipublicæ animus liber est.*

His impartiality is demonstrable, from several little circumstances of this history. Does he not acknowledge, that the INQUISITION is oftner a terror to honest men, than to rogues? Does he not paint the archbishop of Braga in all the colours of a traitor? And I am fully persuaded, that there is not one passage in the following work, but what really deserves our strictest attention: we shall see a nation involved in woe and ruin; and all their miseries proceeding from the bigotry and superstition of a monarch, whose zeal hurries him to inevitable destruction, and whose piety makes him sacrifice the lives of many thousand Christians, without so much as having the satisfaction of converting one obstinate infidel.

Such was the fate of the rash Don Sebastian, who ~~seemed~~ born to be the



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bleſſing of his people, and the terror of his foes; and who would have made a juſt, a wiſe, a truly pious monarch, had not his education been intruſted to a Jeſuit. Nor is he the only unfortunate prince, who, governed by intriguing and inſinuating churchmen, have proved the ruin of their kingdom, and in the end have loſt not only their crowns, but their lives.

We ſhall ſee thoſe people, who, no longer able to bear a heavy yoke, reſolve to ſhake it off, and venture their lives and their fortunes for their liberty: a conſpiracy prevail, (if an intent to revolt from an uſurping tyrant may be called a conſpiracy) in which ſo many perſons, whoſe age, quality and intereſt, were very different, are engaged; and by the courage and public ſpirit of a few, a happy and glorious revolution brought about.

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But scarce is the new king settled upon his throne, and endeavouring to confirm his authority abroad, when a horrid conspiracy is forming against him at home; we shall see a bishop at the head of the traitors, who, though a bigotted churchman, makes no scruple of borrowing the assistance of the most professed enemies of the church, to deliver her out of danger, and to assassinate his lawful king: But happily is the whole plot discovered, and those who were engaged in it meet with the just rewards of treason, and rebellion, the block, and the gallows. Nor is it the first time that our own nation has seen an archbishop doing his king and country all the mischief in his power.

After the death of her husband, we see a queen of an extraordinary genius, and uncommon courage, taking the regency upon her; and though at first oppressed with a load of misfortunes, rises



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against them all, and in the end triumphs over her enemies.

Under the next reign we see the kingdom almost invaded by the ancient usurper, and saved only by the skill of a wise and brave general, who had much ado to deal with the enemy abroad, whilst the people were divided at home; and loudly complained of the riots and debaucheries of their monarch, and the tyrannic conduct of his minister. But we find how impossible a thing it is, that so violent a government should last long; his brother (a prince whose virtues were as conspicuous, as the other's vices were odious) to preserve the crown in their family, is forced to depose him and take the government upon himself. *Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque ab minus bene transfertur.*



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To the Reader

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## P R E F A C E

To the Last EDITION in FRENCH.

**A**LTHOUGH the History of the Conspiracy in Portugal has born three impressions, we may justly say, that this fourth edition is rendered a new work, by the various passages which the author has thought fit to insert; and which are either the cause or the necessary consequences of the great event which is the subject of this history: nay, these additional facts induced the author to substitute the title of *Revolutions* instead of that of *Conspiracy*; which seemed not so proper for an enterprize, wherein the most considerable persons who engaged in it were only influenced by the view of restoring the crown to the prince whom they considered as the lawful heir. The author now opens the work with a compendious retrospection to the commencement of this monarchy; and proceeds to

*the fatal revolution which happened in the reign of Don Sebastian. He next represents the manner in which the Castilians, during the reign of Philip II. made themselves masters of this kingdom; and specifies the particulars of that fortunate temerity, by which an inconsiderable number of Fidalgos and Portuguese gentlemen dispossessed the Spaniards of those dominions, in the reign of Philip the fourth; and the new combinations formed by the partizans and creatures of this prince to reestablish his authority in that state. In a word, when he has placed the duke of Braganza upon the throne, he descends to the abdication of king Alphonso the sixth, his son, and the regency of Don Pedro, the father of the late reigning prince.*

*The reader will see, in the series of this work, a prince, who is supposed to derive his descent from our kings of France, and to be the grandson of Hugh Capet, signalize his zeal and intrepidity of mind, against the Moors, and chase them out of part of the Portuguese*

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*territories; and when he had erected his conquests into a sovereignty, he appears to be the stem of the royal house which now reigns with so much glory. His successors, by new victories, preserved the dominions he had transmitted to them; and after they had frequently triumphed over the power and fortitude of the Castilians, their adjoining neighbours, carried their arms into Asia and Africa, with an intention to make considerable establishments in those regions, and to propagate the knowledge of the true God, with whose sacred name the Barbarians were entirely unacquainted; which was a motive that can never be sufficiently applauded.*

*King Sebastian, influenced by the example of his predecessors, and not finding any more infidels to conquer in his own dominions, extends his pursuit of them into Africa itself, at the head of a handful of soldiers; and, with more zeal than prudence, attempted to dethrone a prince, who was well experienced in military affairs; and, with an army of*



sixty thousand men, put a fatal period to the progress of Don Sebastian's arms. His crown was transferred to his great uncle, Don Henry, who was then in the sixty seventh year of his age, and was likewise a cardinal and archbishop of Evora; and reigned no longer than sixteen months. His death was succeeded by the pretences of several princes, who declared themselves his heirs: Philip the second, king of Spain, who was the most powerful of all the candidates, decided the competition by force of arms, and made himself master of Portugal, by the valour of the famous duke of Alva, the greatest general among the Castilians; and the successors of that monarch governed these new territories with the severity usually exercised to a country acquired by conquest.

The Portuguese, who are a gallant nation, and always impatient under a foreign yoke, delivered themselves from that subjection by a combination of the nobility. The duke of Braganza was placed upon the throne; and



though he was not eminent for any qualifications that constitute a great general, he maintained himself in his new dignity, by the prudence and moderation of his government; and particularly by the abilities and wise counsels of the queen his consort. This princess, after his death, distinguished herself by her capacity in the art of governing, through the whole course of a tumultuous regency, which was incommoded more by the intrigues of the court, than the army of the Castilians. In a word, the reader will behold a son, in whose mind gratitude had but little prevalence; and who, when he attained his majority, dispossessed his mother of the government, and was afterwards divested of his own authority by the abilities of a brother, who by the sanction of the laws, and his own power and popularity, deprived him of his liberty and crown, and forced him even to resign his queen, whom this fortunate brother afterwards espoused.

*These are the transactions related in this*

*work ; which is compiled from the Spanish and Portuguese historians\*, in preference to foreign authors ; and especially from those passages where the writers, who are the declared partisans of the Spanish court, acknowledge the advantages which the Portuguese obtained in this celebrated revolution.*

*And it is hoped that impartial readers will not expect more from an author, who is neither a Castilian nor a Portuguese ; and who, in his praises or disapprobations, is only influenced by that truth which springs from the events he has related.*

\* Jo. Marianæ Historia. Hispania illustrata. Histor. de Torquet. Resendius de Antiq. Lusit. Monarchia Lusitania. Connestag. Philippus Rex Lusitaniæ. Histoire de Portugal, par Monsieur de la Neufville. Lusitan. Vindic. Caëtan. Passar. de Bello Lusitan. Portugal Restaurado de Menesès. Siri Memoire Recondite. Mercure Francois. Troubles de Portugal. Memoires d'Ablancourt.

## A P P R O B A T I O N.

**B**Y order of my lord chancellor, I have read over L'Abbe VERTOT's History of the revolutions of PORTUGAL.

“ The name alone of an historian so just-  
 “ ly celebrated as the author of this work,  
 “ will induce all readers to esteem it highly  
 “ worthy of their peculiar attention. In-  
 “ struction and entertainment are equally  
 “ blended throughout his performance ;  
 “ and this happy conjunction renders all  
 “ his labours universally delightful. The  
 “ beauty of his narration, the purity of  
 “ his style, the perspicuity of his expressi-  
 “ on, the reality of his facts, and the solidi-  
 “ ty of the proofs by which they are con-  
 “ firmed, are every where conspicuous.

“ The great improvements which the  
 “ author has made to this edition, renders  
 “ it a new work. His interpositions are  
 “ so judicious, and his political reflections  
 “ so excellent, as must deservedly recom-

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“ mend it to all those who have bought the  
“ former impressions, which have not only  
“ been received with the greatest applause  
“ in France, but in England, Holland,  
“ Germany, Italy, and Spain; where  
“ this new edition is now expected with the  
“ utmost impatience. Done at Paris the  
“ second day of May, 1726, N. S.

L'Abbé RICHARD.





T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
R E V O L U T I O N S  
O F  
*P O R T U G A L.*

**P**ORTUGAL constitutes a part of that extensive country called the SPAINS†; and most of whose provinces are dignified with the title of kingdoms. This, of Portugal, is situated to the west of Castile, on the banks of the ocean, where it forms the most western extent of Europe. This little state includes no more than an hundred and ten leagues in length, and comprehends but fifty in its utmost breadth. The soil is fertile, the air healthful, and the usual heats of the climate are tempered with refreshing gales, and fruitful showers. The crown is hereditary, and the authority of the Sovereign absolute: he makes great use

The general description of Portugal.

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† The dominions of Spain bear the denominations of Old and New Spain.



of that formidable tribunal, The INQUISITION, as the chiefest instrument of this policy. The Portuguese are full of fire, naturally fierce and presumptuous, and great bigots to their religion, but in reality much more superstitious than devout. Every thing passes for a prodigy among them; and heaven, if you can believe them, is never wanting, in the most extraordinary manner, to declare in their favour.

The antient  
inhabitants  
and masters  
of this king-  
dom.

We are unable to point out the first inhabitants of this country. The Portuguese historians derive them from the posterity of TUBAL; and indeed they could not ascend much higher, even with the assistance of fiction itself. Every nation is actuated by its own chimeras, with respect to its original. What we can affirm with the most certainty is, that the Carthaginians and the Romans contended for the empire of these provinces, and successively possessed them. The Alans, Swedes, and Vandals, and all those barbarous nations, who, under the general name of Goths, overwhelmed the empire, at the beginning of the fifth century, gained the dominion of all the SPAINS. Portugal was sometimes governed by its own select KINGS, and at other times became united under the sovereignty of the princes of Castile.

712. This happened in the beginning of the eighth century, under the reign of ROBERTIC, the last king of the Goths; the Moors, or,



more properly the Arabians, subjects of the caliph **VALID ALMANZOR**, came from Africa into Spain, and soon made themselves masters of the country. Count **JULIAN**, a Spanish nobleman, conducted them thither, and facilitated their conquests, to revenge the indignity of that dishonourable outrage of Roderic in repudiating his daughter.

These infidels extended their dominion from the Streights to the Pyrenees, excepting the mountains of Asturia, where the Christians sheltered themselves under the command of prince Pelagus, who founded the kingdom of Leon, or Oviedo.

Portugal shared the same fate with the other provinces of Spain, and became subject 717. to the Moors. These infidels appointed several governors, who, after the death of their great Almanzor, made themselves independent of any other power, and formed themselves into little sovereignties. The emulation, arising from their different interests, disunited them; and their luxury and effeminacy soon brought about their destruction.

About the beginning of the twelfth century they were driven out of Portugal by Henry count of Burgundy †, Origin of the reigning house. son to Robert king of France. This prince, animated with the same zeal which excited so many others to engage in the holy war, went into Spain, on purpose to signalize his courage

† See a treatise of the origin of the kings of Portugal. By Theodore Godefroy.

against the infidels. He first bore arms under the command of Rodriguez of Bivar, that experienced officer so highly celebrated under the name of the G'd. And he distinguished himself in these religious wars in such an extraordinary manner, that Alphonso VI. king of Castile and Leon, made him general of his army. It is affirmed, that prince Francis discomfited the Moors in seventeen pitched battles, and drove them from the northern parts of Portugal. The king of Castile, that he might wholly engage so great an officer to his interest, gave him one of the princesses, his daughter Tetefia, in marriage; and, as a just reward of his victories, bestowed upon him all those places from whence he had driven the Moors. The count extended his dominion by new conquests. He besieged and took the cities of Lisbon, Vise, and Coimbra: he prosecuted his successes through the three provinces between Douro and Minia. Henry having formed this grand sovereignty, without being king, or without having assumed the title, most gloriously established the monarchy of Portugal.

The prince Alphonso, his son, succeeded him in his acquisitions and valour, and enlarged the former by daily conquests. There are some heroes who found empires, and others who lose them.

The soldiers of count Alphonso, upon his 1139. obtaining a single victory over the Moors, with one voice proclaimed him king; and the states general, being assembled at Lamego, con-

firm'd that august title, which justly devolved to his successors.

This family had sway'd the scepter of Portugal for almost the space of five hundred years, when Don Sebastian came to the crown\*. He was not above three years of age when he succeeded the old king his grand-father. 1557.

During his minority he was put under the regency of his grandmother Catharine of Austria, daughter of Philip I. king of Castile, and sister to the emperor Charles V. Don Alexis de Menezes, a nobleman remarkable for his singular piety, was appointed governor to the young king, and the reverend father Don Lewis de Camara, a Jesuit, was appointed his tutor.

From such judicious instructors, what with not be expected! They fill'd his mind with sentiments of honour, and his soul with devotion. But (which may at first seem strange or impossible) these notions were too often, and too strongly inculcated in him. Menezes was always telling the young prince what victories his predecessors had obtained over the Moors in the Indies, and inmost parts of Africa. On the other hand, the Jesuit was perpetually representing to him, that the crown of kings was the immediate gift of God, and that therefore the chief duty of a prince was to propagate the holy gospel, and to have the word of the Lord preached to those nations, who had never heard of the name of Christ.

\* See the Laws relating to the Succession. Append. N. 1.



These different ideas of honour and religion made a deep impression on the heart of Don Sebastian, who was naturally pious. Scarce therefore had he taken the government of Portugal upon himself, but he thought of transporting an army into Africa; and to that end he often conferred with his officers, but oftener with his missionaries, and other ecclesiastics.

A civil war breaking out about this time in Morocco, seemed very much to favour his design. The occasion was this: Muley Mahomet had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Morocco, after the death of Abdalla, his father; Muley Moluc, Abdalla's brother, opposed him, objecting that he had ascended the throne contrary to the law of the cherifs, by which it is ordained, That the crown shall devolve to the king's brothers, if he has any, and his sons be excluded the succession. This occasioned a bloody war between the uncle and the nephew; but Muley Moluc, who was as brave a soldier as he was a wise commander, defeated Mahomet's army in three pitched battles, and drove him out of Africa.

The exiled prince fled for refuge to the court of Portugal, and finding access to Don Sebastian, told him, that notwithstanding his misfortunes, there were still a considerable number of his subjects, who were loyal in their hearts, and wanted only an opportunity of declaring themselves in his favour. That besides this, he was very well assured that Moluc was afflicted with a lingering disease, which preyed upon his vitals; that Ha-



met, Moluc's brother, was not beloved by the people; that therefore if Don Sebastian would but send him with a small army into Africa, so many of his subjects would come over to him, that he did not in the least question but that he should soon re-establish himself in his father's dominions; which, if he did recover by these means, the kingdom should become tributary to the crown of Portugal: nay, that he would much rather have Don Sebastian himself fill the throne of Morocco, than see it in possession of the present usurper.

Don Sebastian, who was ever entertaining himself with the ideas of future conquests, thought this opportunity of planting the Christian religion in Morocco, was not to be neglected; and therefore promised the Moorish king not only his assistance, but rashly engaged himself in the expedition, giving out that he intended to command the army in person. The wisest of his counsellors in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from the dangerous design. His zeal, his courage, an inconsiderate rashness, the common fault of youth, as well as some flatterers, the bane of royalty, and destruction of princes, all prompted him to continue fixed in his resolution, and persuaded him that he needed only appear in Africa to overcome, and that his conquests would be both easy and glorious. To this end he embarked with an army of thirteen thousand men, with which he was to drive a powerful prince out of his own dominions.

Moluc had timely notice given him of the Por-

tuguese expedition, and of their landing in Africa; he had put himself at the head of forty thousand horsemen, all disciplined soldiers, and who were not so much to be dreaded for their number and courage, as they were for the conduct of their general. His infantry he did not at all value himself upon, not having above ten thousand regular men: there was indeed a vast number of the militia, and others of the people who came pouring down to his assistance; but these he justly looked upon as men who were rather come to plunder than to fight, and who would at any time side with the conqueror.

Several skirmishes were fought, but Moluc's officers had private orders still to fly before the foe, hoping thereby to make the Portuguese leave the shore, where they had intrenched themselves. This stratagem had its desired effect; for don Sebastian, observing that the Moors still fled before him, ordered his army to leave their intrenchments, and marched against the foe as to a certain victory. Moluc made his army retire, as if he did not dare to fight a decisive battle; nay, sent messengers to Don Sebastian, who pretended they were ordered to treat of peace. The king of Portugal immediately concluded, that his adversary was doubtful of the success of the war, and that it would be an easier matter to overcome Moluc's army, than to join them; he therefore indefatigably pursued them. But the Moor had no sooner drawn him far enough from the shore, and made it impossible for him to retire to his

fleet, but he halted, faced the Portuguese, and put his army in battalia; the horse making a half circle, with intent, as soon as they engaged, to surround the enemy on every side. Moluc made Hamet, his brother and successor, commander in chief of the cavalry; but as he doubted his courage, he came up to him a little before the engagement, told him that he must either conquer or die; and that should he prove coward enough to turn his back upon the foe, he would strangle him with his own hand.

The reason why Moluc did not command the army himself, was, that he was sensible of the increase of his lingering disease, and found that in all probability this day would be his last, and therefore resolved to make it the most glorious of his life. He put his army, as I said before, in battalia himself, and gave all the necessary orders with as much presence of mind, as if he had enjoyed the greatest health. He went farther than this; for foreseeing what a sudden damp the news of his death might cast upon the courage of his soldiers, he ordered the officers that were about him, that, if during the heat of the battle he should die, they should carefully conceal it; and that even after his death, his aides-de-camp should come up to his litter, as if to receive fresh orders. After this he was carried from rank to rank, where he exhorted his soldiers to fight bravely for the defence of their religion and their country.

But now the combat began, and the great artillery being discharged, the armies joined. The

Portuguese infantry soon routed the Moorish foot-soldiers, who, as was before-mentioned, were raw and undisciplined; the duke d' Aviedo engaged with a party of horse so happily, that they gave ground, and retired to the very centre of the army, where the king was. Enraged at so unexpected a sight, notwithstanding what his officers could say or do, he threw himself out of his litter; sword in hand he cleared himself a passage, rallied his flying soldiers, and led them back himself to the engagement. But this action quite exhausting his remaining strength and spirits, he fainted; his officers put him into his litter, where he just recovered strength enough to put his finger upon his mouth once more, to enjoin secrecy, then died before they could convey him back to his tent. His commands were obeyed, and the news of his death concealed.

Hitherto the Christians seemed to have the advantage; but the Moorish horse advancing at last, hemmed in Sebastian's whole army, and attacked them on every side. The cavalry was drove back upon their infantry, whom they trampled under foot, and spread every where amongst their own soldiers, disorder, fear, and confusion. The infidels seized upon this advantage, and sword in hand fell upon the conquered troops; a dreadful slaughter ensued, some on their knees begged for quarter, others thought to save themselves by flight, but being surrounded by their foes, met their fate in another place. The rash Don Sebastian himself was slain, but whether he fell amidst



the horror and confusion of the battle, not being known by the Moors, or whether he was resolved not to survive the loss of so many of his subjects, whom he had led on to a field of slaughter, is doubtful. Muley Mahomet got off, <sup>Aug. 4.</sup> 1578. but passing the river Mucazen, was drowned. Thus perished, in one fatal day, three heroic princes.

The cardinal, Don Henry, great uncle to Don Sebastian, succeeded him; he was brother to John III. the late king's grandfather, and son to Emanuel. During his reign, his pretended heirs made all the interest they could in the court of Portugal, being well assured that the present king who was weak and sickly, and sixty-seven years old, could not be long-lived; nor could he marry, and leave children behind him, for he was a cardinal, and in priest's orders. The succession was claimed by Philip II. king of Spain; Catherine of Portugal, espoused to Don James, duke of Braganza; by the duke of Savoy; the duke of Parma; and by Antonio, grand prior of Crete: they all published their respective manifestos, in which every one declared their pretensions to the crown.

Philip was son to the infanta Isabella, eldest daughter of king Emanuel. The duchess of Braganza was grand-daughter to the same king Emanuel, by Edward his second son. The duke of Savoy's mother was the princess Beatrix, a younger sister of the empress Isabella. The duke of Parma was son to Mary of Portugal, the second daughter of prince Edward, and sister to the duch-

ess of Braganza. Don Lewis, duke of Beja, was second son to king Emanuel, by Violenta, the finest lady of that age, whom he had debauched, but whom the grand-prior pretended to have been privately married to that prince. Catherine de Medicis, amongst the rest, made her claim, as being descended from Alphonso III. king of Portugal, and Maud countess of Bolonia. The Pope too put in his claim; he would have it, that after the reign of the Cardinal, Portugal must be looked upon as a fat living in his gift, and to which, like many a modern patron, he would willingly have presented himself.

But notwithstanding all their pretensions, it plainly appeared that the succession belonged either to Philip king of Spain, or to the duchess of Braganza, a lady of an extraordinary merit, and beloved by the whole nation. The duke her spouse, was descended, though not in a direct line, from the royal blood, and herself was sprung from prince Edward; whereas the king of Spain was son to Edward's sister: besides, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, all strangers were excluded the succession. This Philip owned, since thereby the pretensions of Savoy and Parma vanished; but he would by no means acknowledge himself a stranger in Portugal, which he said had often been part of the dominions of the king of Castile. Each had their several parties at court, and the cardinal king was daily pressed to decide the difference, but always evaded it; he could not bear to hear of his successors, and

would willingly have lived to have buried all his pretended heirs : however, his reign lasted but seventeen months, and by his death Portugal became the unhappy theatre of civil wars.

By his last will he had ordered, that a **1580.** *juncto*, or assembly of the states, should be called, to settle the succession ; but king Philip not caring to wait for their decision, sent a powerful army into Portugal, commanded by the duke of Alva, which ended the dispute, and put Philip in possession of that kingdom.

We cannot find that the duke of Braganza used any endeavours to assert his right by force of arms. The grand-prior indeed did all he could to oppose the Castilians ; the mob had proclaimed him king, and he took the title upon him, as if it had been given by the states of Portugal ; and his friends raised some forces for him, but they were soon cut in pieces by the duke of Alva, than whom Spain could not have chosen a better general. As much as the Portuguese hate the Castilians, yet could they not keep them out, being disunited among themselves, and having no general, nor any regular troops on foot. Most of the towns, for fear of being plundered, capitulated, and made each their several treaty ; so that in a short time Philip was ac- **1581.** knowleged their lawful sovereign by the whole nation, as being next heir male to his great uncle, the late king : of such wonderous use is open force to support a bad cause !

After him reigned his son and grandson, Phi-

lip III. and IV. who used the Portuguese not like subjects, but like a conquered people ; and the kingdom of Portugal saw itself dwindle into a province of Spain, and so weakened, that there was no hope left of recovering their liberty: their noblemen durst not appear in an equipage suitable to their birth, for fear of making the Spanish ministers jealous of their greatness or riches; the gentry were confined to their country-seats, and the people oppressed with taxes.

The duke of Olivarez, who was then first minister to Philip IV. king of Spain, was firmly persuaded, that all means were to be used to exhaust this new conquest; he was sensible of the natural antipathy of the Portuguese and Castilians, and thought that the former could never calmly behold their chief posts filled with strangers, or at best with Portuguese of a plebeian extraction, who had nothing else to recommend them but their zeal for the service of Spain. He thought therefore that the surest way of establishing king Philip's power, was to remove the nobility of Portugal from all places of trust, and so to impoverish the people, that they should never be capable of attempting to shake off the Spanish yoke. Besides this, he employed the Portuguese youth in foreign wars, resolving to drain the kingdom of all those who were capable of bearing arms.

As politic as this conduct of Olivarez might appear, yet did he miss his aim; for carrying his cruelty to too high a pitch, at a time when the court of Spain was in distress, and seeming rather



to plunder an enemy's country, than levying taxes from the Portuguese; who daily saw their miseries increase, and be the consequence of their attempt what it would, they could never fare worse, unanimously resolved to free themselves from the intolerable tyranny of Spain.

Margaret of Savoy, duchess of Mantua, 1640. was then in Portugal, where she had the title of vice-queen, but was very far from having the power. Miguel Vasconcellos, a Portuguese by birth, but attached to the Spanish interest, had the name of secretary of state, but was indeed an absolute and independent minister, and dispatched, without the knowledge of the vice-queen, all the secret business. His orders he received directly from d' Olivarez, whose creature he was, and who found him absolutely necessary for extorting vast sums of money from the Portuguese. He was so deeply learned in the art of intriguing, that he could perpetually make the nobility jealous of one another; then would he foment their divisions, and increase their animosities, whereby the Spanish government became every day more absolute; for the duke was assured, that whilst the grandees were engaged in private quarrels, they would never think of the common cause.

The duke of Braganza was the only man in all Portugal, of whom the Spaniards were now jealous. His humour was agreeable, and the chief thing he consulted was his ease. He was a man rather of sound sense, than quick wit. He could easily make himself master of any business to which

he applied his mind, but then he never cared much for the trouble of it. Don Theodosius, duke of Braganza, his father, was of a fiery and passionate temper, and had taken care to infuse in his son's mind an hereditary aversion to the Spaniards, who had usurped a crown, that of right belonged to him; to swell his mind with the ambition of repossessing himself of a throne, which his ancestors had been unjustly deprived of; and to fill his soul with all the courage that would be necessary for the carrying on so great a design.

Nor was this prince's care wholly lost; Don John had imbibed as much of the sentiments of his father as were consistent with so mild and easy a temper. He abhorred the Spaniards, yet was not at all uneasy at his incapacity of revenging himself. He entertained hopes of ascending the throne of Portugal, yet did he not shew the least impatience, as duke Theodosius, his father, had done, but contented himself with a distant prospect of a crown; nor would for an uncertainty venture the quiet of his life, and a fortune which was already greater than what was well consistent with the condition of a subject. Had he been precisely what duke Theodosius wished him, he had never been fit for the great design; for d'Olivarez had him observed so strictly, that had his easy and pleasant manner of living proceeded from any other cause but a natural inclination, it had certainly been discovered, and the discovery had proved fatal both to his life and fortune; at least the court of Spain would never have suffered him

to live in so splendid a manner in the very heart of his country.

Had he been the most refined politician, he could never have lived in a manner less capable of giving suspicion. His birth, his riches, his title to the crown, were not criminal in themselves, but became so by the law of policy. This he was very sensible of, and therefore chose this way of living, prompted to it as well by nature as by reason. It would have been a crime to be formidable, he must therefore take care not to appear so: at Villa-Viciosa, the seat of the dukes of Braganza, nothing was thought of but hunting-matches, and other rural diversions; the brightness of his parts could not in the least make the Spaniards apprehend any bold undertaking, but the solidity of his understanding made the Portuguese promise themselves the enjoyment of a mild and easy king, provided they would undertake to raise him to the throne. But an accident soon after happened, which very much alarmed Olivarez.

Some new taxes being laid upon the people of Evora, which they were not able to pay, reduced them to despair; upon which they rose in a tumultuous manner, loudly exclaiming against the Spanish tyranny, and declaring themselves in favour of the house of Braganza. Then, but too late, the court of Spain began to be sensible of their error, in leaving so rich and powerful a prince in the heart of a kingdom so lately subdued, and to whose crown he had some legal pretensions.

This made the council of Spain immediately determine, that it was necessary to secure the duke of Braganza, or at best not to let him make any longer stay in Portugal. To this end they named him governor of Milan, which government he refused, alleging the weakness of his constitution for an excuse: besides, he said he was wholly unacquainted with the affairs of Italy, and by consequence not capable of acquitting himself in so weighty a post.

1640. The duke d'Olivarez seemed to approve of the excuse, and therefore began to think of some new expedient to draw him to court. The king's marching at the head of his army to the frontiers of Arragon, to suppress the rebelling Catalonians, was a very good pretence. He wrote to the duke of Braganza, "to come at the head of the Portuguese nobility to serve the king in an expedition, which could not but be glorious, since his majesty commanded it in person." The duke, who had no great relish for any favour conferred by the court of Spain, excused himself, upon pretence that "his birth would oblige him to be at a much greater expence than what he was at present able to support."

This second refusal alarmed d'Olivarez. Notwithstanding Don John's easy temper, he began to be afraid that the Evorians had made an impression upon his thoughts, by reminding him of his right to the throne. It was dangerous to leave him any longer in his country, and equally dangerous to hurry him out of it by force; so great a



love had the Portuguese ever bore to the house of Braganza; so great a respect did they bear to this duke in particular. He must therefore treacherously be drawn into Spain, nor could any proper means be thought of, for compassing this end, than by shewing him all the seeming tokens of an unfeigned friendship.

France and Spain were at that time engaged in war, and the French fleet had been seen off the coasts of Portugal. This gave the Spanish minister a fair opportunity of accomplishing his ends; for it was necessary to have an army on foot, under the command of some brave general, to hinder the French from making a descent, or landing any where in Portugal. The commission was sent to the duke of Braganza, with an absolute authority over all the towns and garrisons, as well as a power over the maritime forces; in short, so unlimited was the command given him, that the minister seemed blindly to have delivered all Portugal into his power: But this was only the better to colour his design. Don Lopez Ozorio, the Spanish admiral, had private orders sent him, that as soon as Don John should visit any of the ports, he should put in, as if drove by stress of weather; then artfully invite the general aboard, immediately hoist sail, and with all possible expedition bring him into Spain. But propitious fortune seemed to have taken him into her protection; a violent storm arose, which dispersed the Spanish fleet, part of which suffered shipwreck, and

the rest were so shattered, that they could not make Portugal.

This ill success did not in the least discourage Olivarez, or make him drop his project; he attributed the escape of the duke of Braganza to mere chance: he wrote him a letter, full of expressions of friendship, and as if he had with him shared the government of the whole kingdom, wherein he deplored the loss of the fleet, and told him, that the king now expected that he would carefully review all the ports, and their respective fortifications, seeing that the fleet, that was to defend the coasts of Portugal from the insults of the French, had miserably perished. And that his villany might not be suspected, he returned him forty thousand ducats to defray his expences, and to raise more troops, in case there should be a necessity of them. At the same time he sent private orders to all the governors of forts and citadels, the greatest part whereof were Spaniards, that if they should find a favourable occasion of securing the duke of Braganza, they should do it, and forthwith convey him into Spain.

This entire confidence, which was reposed in him, alarmed the duke; he plainly saw that there was treachery intended, and therefore thought it just to return the treachery. He wrote an answer to Olivarez, wherein he told him, that with joy he accepted the honour which the king had conferred upon him, in naming him his general, and promised so to discharge the important trust, as

to deserve the continuation of his majesty's favour.

But now the duke began to have a nearer prospect of the throne ; nor did he neglect this opportunity of putting some of his friends into places of trust, that they might be the more able to serve him upon occasion : he also employed part of the Spanish money in making new creatures, and confirming those in his interest whom he had already made. And as he partly mistrusted the Spaniards design, he never visited any fort, but he was surrounded by such a number of friends, that it was impossible for the governors to execute their orders.

Mean while the court of Spain loudly murmured at the trust which was reposed in Don John ; they were ignorant of the prime minister's aim, and therefore some did not stick to tell the king, that his near alliance to the house of Braganza made him overlook his master's interest ; seeing that it was the highest imprudence to put so absolute an authority into the hands of one who had such pretensions to the crown, and to entrust the army to the command of one, who in all probability might make the soldiers turn their arms against their lawful sovereign. But the more they complained, the better was the king pleased, being persuaded that the plot was artfully laid, since no one could unravel the dark design. Thus Braganza not only had the liberty, but was obliged to visit all Portugal, and by that means laid the foundation of his future fortune. The eyes of the

many were every where drawn by his magnificent equipage; all that came to him, he mildly, and with unequalled goodness, heard; the soldiers were not suffered to commit the least disorders, and he laid hold of all opportunities of praising the conduct of the officers, and by frequent recompences bestowed upon them, won their hearts. The nobility were charmed with his free deportment, he received every one of them in the most obliging manner, and paid each the respect due to his quality. In short, such was his carriage, that the people began to think there could be no greater happiness for them upon earth, than the restoration of the prince to the throne of his ancestors.

Mean while his party omitted nothing that they thought might contribute to the establishing of his reputation. Amongst others, Pinto Ribeiro, comptroller of his household, particularly distinguished himself, and was the first who formed an exact scheme for the advancement of his master. There was no man more experienced in business, who at the same time was so careful, diligent, and watchful: he was firm to the interest of the duke, not doubting but that if he could raise him to the throne, he should raise himself to some considerable post. His master had often privately assured him, that he would willingly lay hold of any fair opportunity for his restoration, yet would not rashly declare himself, as a man who had nothing to lose; that notwithstanding he might endeavour to gain the minds of the people, and to make new creatures, yet he must do it with that



caution, that it might appear his own work, and done without the consent and knowledge of the duke.

Pinto had spared no pains in discovering who were, and the number of the disaffected, which he daily endeavoured to increase; he railed against the present government sometimes with heat, at other times with caution, always accommodating himself to the humour of the company which he was in: though indeed so great was the hatred which the Portuguese bore the Spaniards, that there was no need of reserve in complaining of them. He would often remind the nobility what honourable employments their forefathers had born, when Portugal was governed by its own kings. Then would he mention the summons which had so much exasperated the nobility, and by which they were commanded to attend the king in Catalonia. Pinto used to complain of this hardship as of a kind of banishment, from which they would scarce find it possible to return; that the pride of the Spaniards, who would command them, was insufferable, and the expence they should be at intolerable; that this was only a plausible pretence to drain Portugal of its bravest men, that in all their expeditions they might be assured of being exposed where the greatest danger was, but that they must never hope to share the least part of the glory.

When he was amongst the merchants and other citizens, he would bewail the misery of his country, which was ruined by the injustice of the Spaniard, who had transferred the trade, which

Portugal carried on with the Indies, to Cadiz. Then would he remind them of the felicity which the Dutch and Catelonians enjoyed, who had shaken off the Spanish yoke. As for the clergy, he did not in the least question but that he should engage them in his interest, and exasperate them most irreconcilably against the Castilians ; he told them, that the immunities and privileges of the church were violated, their orders contemned and neglected, and that all the best preferments and fattest livings were possessed by foreign incumbents.

When he was with those, of whose disaffection he was already convinced, he would take care to turn his discourse to his master, and talk of his manner of living. He would often complain, that that prince shewed too little affection for the good of his country, and concern for his own interest ; and that at a time when it was in his power to assert his title to the crown, he should seem so regardless of his own right, and lead so idle a life. Finding that these insinuations made an impression upon the people, he went still farther : to those who were public-spirited, he represented what a glorious thing it would be for them to lay the foundations of a revolution, and to deserve the name of " Deliverers of their country." Those who had been injured and ill treated by the Spaniards, he would excite to the desire of revenge ; and the ambitious he flattered with a prospect of the grandeurs and preferments they might expect from the new king, would they

once raise him to the throne. In short, he managed every thing with so much art, that being privately assured of the unshaken affection of many to his master, he procured a meeting of a considerable number of the nobility, with the archbishop of Lisbon at the head of them.

This prelate was of the house of Acugna, one of the best families of all Portugal; he was a man of learning, and an excellent politician, beloved by the people, but hated by the Spaniards, and whom he had also just cause to hate, since they had made Don Sabastian Maltos de Norognia, archbishop of Braga, president of the chamber of Opaco, whom they had all along preferred to him, and to whom they had given a great share in the administration of affairs.

Another of the most considerable members of this assembly, was Don Miguel d' Almeida, a venerable old man, and who deserved, and had, the esteem of every body; he was very public-spirited, and was not so much grieved at his own private misfortunes, as at those of his country, whose inhabitants were become the slaves of an usurping tyrant. In these sentiments he had been educated, and to these, with undaunted courage and resolution, he still adhered; nor could the entreaties of his relations, nor the repeated advices of his friends, ever make him go to court, or cringe to the Spanish ministers. This carriage of his had made them jealous of him. This therefore was the man whom Pinto first cast his eyes upon, being well assured that he might safely entrust him

with the secret ; besides which, no one could be more useful in carrying on their design, his interest with the nobility being so great, that he could easily bring over a considerable number of them to his party.

There were, besides these two, at this first meeting, Don Antonio d' Almada, an intimate friend of the archbishop, with Don Lewis, his son ; Don Lewis d'Acugna, nephew to that prelate, and who had married Don Antonio d' Almada's daughter ; Mello lord Ranger, Don George his brother ; Pedro Mendoza ; Don Rodrigo de Saa, lord-chamberlain ; with several other officers of the household, whose places were nothing now but empty titles, since Portugal had lost her own natural kings.

The archbishop, who was naturally a good rhetorician, broke the ice in this assembly ; he made an eloquent speech, in which he set forth the many grievances Portugal had laboured under since it had been subject to the domination of Spain. He reminded them of the number of nobility which Philip II. had butchered to secure his conquest ; nor had he been more favourable to the church, witness the famous brief of absolution, Coneffagio. which he had obtained from the pope for the murder of two thousand priests, or others of religious orders, whom he had barbarously put to death, on no other account but to secure his usurpation : and since that unhappy time, the Spaniards had not changed their inhuman policy ; how many had fallen for no other crime but their un-



shaken love to their country ! That none of those, who were there present, could call their lives or their estates their own : that the nobility were slighted and removed from all places of trust, profit, or power : that the church was filled with a scandalous clergy, since Vasconcellos had disposed of all the livings, and to which he had preferred his own creatures only : that the people were oppressed with excessive taxes, whilst the earth remained untilld for want of hands, their labourers being all sent away by force, for soldiers to Catalonia : that this last summons, for the nobility to attend the king, was only a specious pretence to force them out of their own country, lest their presence might be an obstacle to some cruel design, which was doubtless on foot : that the mildest fate, they could hope for, was a tedious, if not a perpetual banishment ; and that whilst they were ill treated by the Castilians abroad, strangers should enjoy their estates, and new colonies take possession of their habitations. He concluded by assuring them, that so great were the miseries of his country, that he would rather chuse to die ten thousand deaths, than be obliged to see the encrease of them ; nor would he now entertain one thought of life, did he not hope that so many persons of quality were not met together in vain.

This discourse had its desired effect, by reminding every one of the many evils which they had suffered. Each seemed earnest to give some instance of Vasconcellos's cruelty. The estates of

some had been unjustly confiscated, whilst others had hereditary places and governments taken from them; some had been long confined in prisons through the jealousy of the Spanish ministers, and many bewailed a father, a brother, or friend, either detained at Madrid, or sent into Catalonia, as hostages of the fidelity of their unhappy countrymen. In short, there was not one of those who were engaged in this public cause, but what had some private quarrel to revenge: but nothing provoked them more than the Catalonian expedition; they plainly saw, that it was not so much the want of their assistance, as the desire of ruining them, which made the Spanish minister oblige them to that tedious and expensive voyage. These considerations, joined to their own private animosities, made them unanimously resolve to venture life and fortune, rather than any longer to bear the heavy yoke: but the form of government which they ought to chuse, caused a division amongst them. Part of the assembly were for making themselves a republic, as Holland had lately done; others were for a monarchy, but could not agree upon the choice of a king: some proposed the duke of Braganza, some the marquis de Villareal, and others the duke d'Aviedo, all three princes of the royal blood of Portugal, according as their different inclinations, or interests, biassed them. But the archbishop, who was wholly devoted to the house of Braganza, assuming the authority of his character, set forth with great strength of reason, that the choice of a govern-

ment was not in their power; that the oath of allegiance, which they had taken to the king of Spain, could not in conscience be broken, unless it was with a design to restore their rightful sovereign to the throne of his fathers, which every one knew to be the duke of Braganza; that they must therefore resolve to proclaim him king, or for ever to continue under the tyranny of the Spanish usurper. After this he made them consider the power and riches of this prince, as well as the great number of his vassals, and whose estates, which they held of him, comprehended almost a third part of the kingdom. He shewed them it was impossible for them to drive the Spaniards out of Portugal, unless he was at their head: that the only way to engage him, would be by making him an offer of the crown, which they would be under a necessity of doing, altho' he was not the first prince of the royal blood. Then began he to reckon all those excellent qualities with which he was endowed, as his wisdom, his prudence; but above all, his affable behaviour, and inimitable goodness. In short, his words prevailed so well upon every one, that they unanimously declared him their king, and promised that they would spare no pains, no endeavours, to engage him to enter into their measures: after which, having agreed upon the time and place of a second meeting, to concert the ways and means of bringing this happy revolution about, the assembly broke up.

Pinto, observing how well the minds of the peo-

ple were disposed in favour of his master, wrote privately to him, to acquaint him with the success of the first meeting, and advised him to come, as if by chance, to Lisbon, that by his presence he might encourage the conspirators, and at the same time get some opportunity of conferring with them. This man spent his whole time in negotiating this grand affair, yet did it so artfully, that no one could suspect his having any farther interest in it, than his concern for the public welfare. He seemingly doubted whether his master would ever enter into their measures, objecting his natural aversion to any undertaking which was hazardous, and required application: then would he start some difficulties, which were of no other use but to destroy all suspicion of his having any understanding with his master, and were so far from being weighty enough to discourage them, that they rather served to excite their ardour.

Upon the advice given by Pinto, the duke left Villaviciosa, and came to Almada, a castle near Lisbon, on pretence of visiting it as he had done the other fortifications of that kingdom. His equipage was so magnificent, and he had with him such a number of the nobility and gentry, as well as of officers, that he looked more like a king going to take possession of a kingdom, than like the governor of a province, who was viewing the places and forts under his jurisdiction: he was so near Lisbon, that he was under an obligation of going to pay his devoirs to the vice-queen. As soon as he entered the palace-yard, he found the



avenues crouded with infinite numbers of people who pressed forward to see him pass along; and all the nobility came to wait upon him, and to accompany him to the vice-queen's. It was a general holiday throughout the city, and so great was the joy of the people, that there seemed only a herald wanting to proclaim him king, or resolution enough in himself to put the crown upon his head.

But the duke was too prudent to trust to the uncertain sallies of an inconstant people. He knew what a vast difference there was between their vain shouts, and that steddiness which is necessary to support so great an enterprize. Therefore after having paid his respects to the vice-queen, and taken leave of her, he returned to Almada, without so much as going to Braganza-house, or passing through the city, lest he should increase the jealousy of the Spaniards, who already seemed very uneasy at the affection, which the people had so unanimously expressed for the duke.

Pinto took care to make his friends observe the unnecessary caution which his master used, and that therefore they ought not to neglect this opportunity, which his stay at Almada afforded them, to wait upon that prince, and to persuade, nay, as though it were to force him to accept the crown. The conspirators thought the counsel good, and deputed him to the duke to obtain an audience. He granted them one, but upon condition there should come three of the conspirators only, not

thinking it safe to explain himself before a greater number.

Miguel d' Almeida, Antonio d' Almada, and Pedro Mendoza, were the three persons pitched upon, who coming by night to the prince's, and being introduced into his chamber, d' Almada, who was their spokesman, represented in few words the present unhappy state of Portugal, whose natives, of what quality or condition soever, had suffered so much from the unjust and cruel Castilian : that the duke himself was as much, if not more exposed than any other to their treachery ; that he was too discerning not to perceive that d' Olivarez's aim was his ruin, and that there was no other place of refuge but the throne ; for the restoring him to which, he had orders to offer him the services of a considerable number of people of the first quality, who would willingly expose their lives, and sacrifice their fortunes for his sake, and to revenge themselves upon the oppressing Spaniards.

He afterwards told them, that the times of Charles V. and Philip II. were no more, when Spain held the balance of Europe in her hand, and gave the neighbouring nations laws : that this monarchy, which had been once so formidable, could scarce now preserve its ancient territories ; that the French and Dutch not only waged war against them, but often overcame them ; that Catalonia itself employed the greatest part of their forces ; that they scarce had an army on foot, the treasury was exhausted, and that the kingdom

was governed by a weak prince, who was himself swayed by a minister, abhorred by the whole nation.

He then observed what foreign protection and alliances they might depend on, and be assured of; most of the princes of Europe were professed enemies to the house of Austria; the encouragement Holland and Catalonia had met with, sufficiently shewed what might be expected from that able statesman †, whose mighty genius seemed wholly bent upon the destruction of the Spanish king; that the sea was now open, and he might have free communication with whom he pleased; that there were scarce any Spanish garrisons left in Portugal, they having been drawn out to serve in Catalonia; that there could never be a more favourable opportunity of asserting his right and title to the crown, of securing his life, his fortune, and his liberty, which were at stake, and of delivering his country from slavery and oppression.

We may easily imagine, that there was nothing in this speech which could displease the duke of Braganza; however, unwilling to let them see his heart, he answered the deputies in such a manner, as could neither lessen, or increase their hopes. He told them, that he was but too sensible of the miseries to which Portugal was reduced by the Castilians, nor could he think himself secure from their treachery; that he very much commended the zeal which they shewed for the welfare of

† Cardinal Richlieu.

their country, and was in an especial manner obliged to them for the affection which they bore him in particular; that notwithstanding what they had represented, he feared that matters were not ripe for so dangerous an enterprize, whose consequence, should they not bring it to a happy period, would prove so fatal to them all.

Having returned this answer, (for a more positive one he would not return) he caressed the deputies, and thanked them in so obliging a manner, that they left him, well satisfied that their message was gratefully received; but at the same time persuaded, that the prince would be no farther concerned in their design, than giving his consent to the execution of it, as soon as their plot should be ripe.

After their departure, the duke conferred with Pinto about the new measures which they must take, and then returned to Villaviciosa; but not with that inward satisfaction of mind which he had hitherto enjoyed, but with a restlessness of thought, the too common companion of princes.

As soon as he arrived, he communicated those propositions which had been made him, to the duchess his wife. She was of a Castilian family, sister to the duke of Medina Sidonia, a grandee of Spain, and governor of Andalusia. During her childhood, her mind was great and heroic, and as she grew up, became passionately fond of honour and glory. The duke, her father, who perceived this natural inclination of hers, took care to cultivate it betimes, and gave the care of



her education to persons who would swell her breast with ambition \*, and represent it as the chiefest virtue of princes. She applied herself sometimes to the study of the different tempers and inclinations of mankind, and would by the looks of a person judge of his heart ; so that the most dissembling courtier could scarce hide his thought from her discerning eye. She neither wanted courage to undertake, nor conduct to carry on the most difficult things, provided their end was glorious and honourable. Her actions were free and easy, and at the same time noble and majestic ; her air at once inspired love, and commanded respect. She took the Portuguese air with so much ease, that it seemed natural to her. She made it her chief study to deserve the love and esteem of her husband ; nor could the austerity of her life, a solid devotion, and a perfect complaisance to all his actions, fail of doing it. She neglected all those pleasures, which persons of her age and quality usually relish ; and the greatest part of her time was employed in studies, which might adorn her mind, and improve her understanding.

The duke thought himself compleatly happy in the possession of so accomplished a lady ; his love could scarce be paralleled, and his confi-

\* Ad hæc politicas artes, bonos et malos regiminis dolos, dominationis arcana, humani latibula, ingenii, non modo intelligere mulier, sed et pertractare quoque ac provehere, tam natura quam disciplina mirifice instructa fuit. Cætan. Passar. de Bello Lusitan.

dence in her was entire: he never undertook any thing without her advice, nor would he engage himself any farther in a matter of such consequence, without first consulting with her. He therefore shewed her the scheme of the revolution, the names of the conspirators, and acquainted her with what had passed as well in the assembly held at Lisbon, as in a conference he had had with them at Almada, and the warmth which every one had shewn upon this occasion. He told her, that the expedition of Catalonia had so incensed the nobility, that they were all resolved to revolt, rather than to leave their native country; he dreaded, that if he should refuse to lead them on, they would forsake him, and chuse themselves another leader. Yet he confessed, that the greatness of the danger made him dread the event; that whilst he viewed the throne at a distance, the flattering idea of royalty was most agreeable to his mind, but that now having a nearer prospect of it, and of the intervening of obstacles, he was startled; nor could he calmly behold those dangers into which he must inevitably plunge himself and his whole family, in case of a discovery: that the people, on whom they must chiefly depend for the success, were inconstant, and disheartened by the least difficulty: that the number of the nobility and gentry which he had on his, was not sufficient, unless supported by the grandees of the kingdom; who doubtless, jealous of his fortune, would oppose it, as not being able to submit to the government of one, whom they had all along

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looked upon as their equal. That these considerations, as well as the little dependance he could make on foreign assistance, over-ruled his ambition, and made him forget the hopes of reigning. But the duchess, whose soul was truly great, and ambition her ruling passion, immediately declared herself in favour of the conspiracy. She asked the duke, "Whether in case the Portuguese, accepting his denial, should resolve to make themselves a republic, he would side with them, or with the king of Spain?" "With his countrymen undoubtedly, he replied; for whose liberty he would willingly venture his life." "And why can you not do for your own sake, answered she, what you would do as a member of the commonwealth? The throne belongs to you, and should you perish in attempting to recover it, your fate would be glorious, and rather to be envied than pitied." After this, she urged "his undoubted right to the crown; that Portugal was reduced to such a miserable state by the Castillians, that it was inconsistent with the honour of a person of his quality, to be an idle looker-on; that his children would reproach, and their posterity curse his memory, for neglecting so fair an opportunity of restoring them what they ought in justice to have had." Then she represented the difference between a sovereign and a subject, and the pleasure of ruling instead of obeying in a servile manner. She made him sensible, that it would be no such difficult matter to repossess himself of the crown;

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looked upon as their equal. That these considerations, as well as the little dependance he could make on foreign assistance, over-ruled his ambition, and made him forget the hopes of reigning. But the duchess, whose soul was truly great, and ambition her ruling passion, immediately declared herself in favour of the conspiracy. She asked the duke, "Whether in case the Portuguese, accepting his denial, should resolve to make themselves a republic, he would side with them, or with the king of Spain?" "With his countrymen undoubtedly, he replied; for whose liberty he would willingly venture his life." "And why can you not do for your own sake, answered she, what you would do as a member of the commonwealth? The throne belongs to you, and should you perish in attempting to recover it, your fate would be glorious, and rather to be envied than pitied." After this, she urged "his undoubted right to the crown; that Portugal was reduced to such a miserable state by the Castilians, that it was inconsistent with the honour of a person of his quality, to be an idle looker-on; that his children would reproach, and their posterity curse his memory, for neglecting so fair an opportunity of restoring them what they ought in justice to have had." Then she represented the difference between a sovereign and a subject, and the pleasure of ruling instead of obeying in a servile manner. She made him sensible, that it would be no such difficult matter to re-possess himself of the crown;

that though he could not hope for foreign assistance, yet were the Portuguese of themselves able to drive the Spaniards out of their country, especially at such a favourable juncture at this. In short, so great was her persuasive art, that she prevailed upon the duke to accept the offer made him, but at the same time confessed his prudence, in letting the number of the conspirators increase before he joined with them; nor would she advise him to appear openly in it, until the plot was ripe.

Mean while the court of Spain grew very jealous of him. Those extraordinary marks of joy, which the Lisbonites had shewn at his coming thither, had very much alarmed d'Olivarez. It was also whispered about, that there were nightly meetings, and secret assemblies held at Lisbon: So impossible it is, that a business of such consequence should be wholly concealed.

Upon this several councils were held at Madrid, in which it was resolved, that the only way to prevent the Portuguese from revolting, was by taking from them their leader, in favour of whom

it was supposed they intended to revolt.

Oct. 20.

1640.

Wherefore d'Olivarez immediately dispatched a courier to the duke of Braganza, to acquaint him, that the king desired to be informed, by his own mouth, of the strength of every fort and citadel, the condition of the sea-ports, and what garrisons were placed in each of them: to this he added, that his friends at court were overjoyed at the thoughts of seeing him so soon, and that every one of them were preparing

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to receive him with the respect due to his quality and deserts.

This news thunder-struck the unhappy prince; he was well assured, that since so many pretences were made use of to get him into Spain, his destruction was resolved on, and nothing less than his life could satisfy them. They had left off caresses and invitations, and had now sent positive orders, which either must be obeyed, or probably open force would be made use of. He concluded, that he was betrayed. Such is the fear of those, whose thoughts are taken up with great designs, and who always imagine that the inquisitive world is prying into their actions, and observing all their steps. Thus did the duke, whose conduct had been always greater than his courage, dread that he had plunged himself into inevitable destruction.

But to gain time enough to give the conspirators notice of his danger, by the advice of the duchess, he sent a gentleman, whose capacity and fidelity he was before assured of, to the court of Madrid, to assure the Spanish minister, that he would suddenly wait on the king; but had at the same time given him private orders to find out all the pretences imaginable for the delaying his journey, hoping in the mean time to bring the conspiracy to ripeness, and thereby to shelter himself from the impending storm.

As soon as this gentleman arrived at Madrid, he assured the king and the duke d' Olivarez, that his master followed him. To make his story the more plausible, he took a large house, which he

furnished very sumptuously, then hired a considerable number of servants, to whom he beforehand gave liveries. In short, he spared no cost to persuade the Spaniards that his master would be in a very little time at court, and that he intended to appear with an equipage suitable to his birth.

Some days after, he pretended to have received advice that his master was fallen sick. When this pretence was grown stale, he presented a memorial to d' Olivarez, in which he desired that his master's precedence in the court might be adjusted. He did not in the least question but that this would gain a considerable time, hoping that the grandees, by maintaining their rights, would oppose his claims. But these delays beginning to be suspected, the first minister had the thing soon decided, always in favour of the duke of Braganza ; so earnestly did he desire to see him once out of Portugal, and to have him safe at Madrid.

The conspirators no sooner heard of the orders which the duke had received, but fearing that he might obey them, deputed Mendoza to know what he intended to do, and to engage him firmly, if possibly, to their party. This gentleman was chosen preferably to any other, because he was governor of a town near Villaviciosa ; so that he could hide the real intent of his journey from the Spaniards, under the specious pretence of business. He did not dare to go directly to the prince's house, but took an opportunity of meeting him in

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a forest one morning as he was hunting; they retired together into the thickest part of the wood, where Mendoza shewed him what danger he exposed himself to, by going to a place where all were his enemies: that by this inconsiderate action, the hopes of the nobility, as well as of the people, were utterly destroyed: that a sufficient number of gentlemen, who were as able to serve him as they were willing to do it, or to sacrifice their live for his sake, only waited for his consent to declare themselves in his favour: that now was the very crisis of his fate, and that he must this instant resolve to be Cæsar or nothing: that the business would admit of no longer delay, lest the secret being divulged, their designs should prove abortive. The duke, convinced of the truth of what was said to him, told him that he was of his mind, and that he might assure his friends, that as soon as their plot should be ripe, he would put himself at the head of them.

This conference ended, Mendoza immediately returned home, for fear of being suspected, and wrote to some of the conspirators that he had been hunting: "We had almost, continued he, lost our game in the pursuit, but at last the day proved a day of good sport." Some few days after, Mendoza returned to Lisbon, and acquainted Pinto that his master wanted him, who set out as soon as they had together drawn out a shorter scheme to proceed upon. Coming to Villaviciosa, the first thing he acquainted the duke with, was the difference which had lately happened at the

court of Lisbon, the vice-queen loudly complaining of the haughty pride and insolence of Vasconcellos; nor could she any longer bear that all business should be transacted by him, whilst she enjoyed an empty title, without any the least authority. What made her complaints the juster, was, that she was really a deserving princess, and capable of discharging the trust which was committed to her secretary. But it was the greatness of her genius, and her other extraordinary deserts, which made the court of Spain unwilling to let her have a greater share in the government. Pinto observed, that this difference could never have happened in a better time, seeing that the ministers of Spain being taken up with this business, would not be at leisure to pry into his actions, or to observe the steps he should take.

The duke of Braganza, since Mendoza's departure was fallen into his wonted irresolution, and the nearer the business came to a crisis, the more he dreaded the event: Pinto made use of all his rhetoric to excite his master's courage, and to draw him into his former resolution. Nay, to his persuasions he added threatenings; he told him, in spite of himself, the conspirators would proclaim him king; and what dangers must he run then, when the crown should be fixed upon his head, at a time when only for want of necessary preparation, he was not capable of preserving it? The duchess joined with this faithful servant, and convinced the duke of the baseness of preferring life to honour: he, charmed with her

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courage, yet ashamed to see it greater than his own, yielded to their pretensions.

Mean while, the gentleman whom he had sent to Madrid, wrote daily to let him know, that he could no longer defer his journey on any pretence whatsoever, and that Olivarez refused to hear the excuses which he would have made. The duke, to gain a little longer time, ordered the gentleman to acquaint the Spanish minister, that he had long since been at Madrid, had he had money enough to defray the expence of his journey, and to appear at court in a manner suitable to his quality: that as soon as he could receive a sufficient sum, he would immediately set out.

This business dispatched, he consulted with the duchess and Pinto about the properest means of executing the design: several were proposed, but at last this was agreed upon, that the plot must break out at Lisbon, whose example might have a good effect upon the other towns and cities of the kingdom: that the same day wherein he was proclaimed king in the metropolis, he should be also proclaimed in every place which was under his dependance; nay, in every borough and village, of which any of the conspirators were the leading men, they should raise the people, so that one half of the kingdom being up, the other of course would fall into their measures, and the few remaining Spaniards would not know on which side to turn their arms. His own regiment he should quarter in Elvas, whose governor was wholly in his interest. That as for the manner of

their making themselves masters of Lisbon, time and opportunity would be their best counsellors; however, the duke's opinion was, that they should seize the palace in the first place, so that by securing the vice-queen, and the Spaniards of note, they would be like so many hostages in their hands, for the behaviour of the governor and garrison of the citadel, who otherwise might very much annoy them, when they were masters of the town. After this, the duke having assured Pinto, that notwithstanding any change of fortune, he should still have the same place in his affection; he sent him to Lisbon with two letters of trust, one for Almeida, the other for Mendoza; wherein he conjured them to continue faithful to their promises, and resolutely and courageously to finish what they had begun.

As soon as he arrived at Lisbon, he delivered his letters to Almeida and Mendoza, who instantly sent for Lemos and Coreo, whom Pinto had long since engaged in the interest of his master. These were two rich citizens, who had gone through all the offices of the city, and had the people of it very much at their command; as they still carried on their trade, there were a vast number of poor people daily employed by them, and whose hatred to the Spaniards they had still taken care to increase, by insinuating that there were new taxes to be laid upon several things at the beginning of the next year. When they observed any one of a fiery temper, they would take care to discharge him, on pretence that the Casti-

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lians had utterly ruined their trade, and that they were no longer able to employ them; but their aim was to reduce them to poverty and want, in-  
 somuch that necessity should oblige them to re-  
 volt: but still would they extend their charity to-  
 wards them, that they might always have them  
 at their service. Besides this, they had engaged  
 some of the ablest merchants and tradesmen in  
 every part of Lisbon, and promised, that if the  
 conspirators would give them warning over night  
 of the hour they intended to rise, punctually at  
 that time they would have half the city up in arms.

Pinto, being thus sure of the citizens, turned  
 his thoughts to the other conspirators: he advis-  
 ed them to be ready for the execution of their plot  
 upon the first notice given them; that mean while  
 he would have them pretend they had some pri-  
 vate quarrel, and engage their friends to assist  
 them; for many, he observed, were not fit to  
 be entrusted with so important a secret, and o-  
 thers could not, in cold blood, behold the dangers  
 they must go through, and yet both be very ser-  
 viceable when matters were ripe, and only their  
 swords wanted.

Finding every body firm in their resolutions,  
 and impatient to revenge themselves upon the  
 Spaniards, he conferred with Almeida, Mendo-  
 za, Almada, and Mello, who fixed upon  
 Saturday, the first of December, for the  
 great, the important day. Notice was im-  
 mediately given to the duke of Braganza, that he  
 might cause himself to be proclaimed king the

Dec. 1.  
 1740.

same day in the province of Alentejo, most part of which belonged to him. After which, they agreed upon meeting once more before the time.

On the twenty-fifth of November, according to their agreement, they met at Braganza-house, where mustering their forces, they found that they could depend upon about one hundred and fifty gentlemen, most of them heads of families, with their servants and tenants, and about two hundred substantial citizens, who could bring with them a considerable number of inferior workmen.

Vasconcellos's death was unanimously resolved on, as a just victim, and which would be grateful to the people. Some urged, that the archbishop of Braga deserved the same fate, especially considering the strength of his genius, and the greatness of his courage; for it was not to be supposed that he would be an idle looker-on, but would probably be more dangerous than the secretary himself could be, by raising all the Spaniards who were in Lisbon, with their creatures; and that whilst they were busy in making themselves makers of the place, he, at the head of his people, might fling himself into the citadel, or come to the assistance of the vice-queen, to whose service he was entirely devoted; and that at such a time as this, pity was unseasonable, and mercy dangerous.

These considerations made the greatest part of the assembly consent to the prelate's death; and

he had shared Vasconcellos's fate, had not \* Don Miguel d'Almeida interposed. He represented to the conspirators, that the death of a man of the prelate's character and station would make them odious to the people; that it would infallibly draw the hatred of the clergy, and of the inquisition in particular, a people who at this juncture were to be dreaded, upon the duke of Braganza, to whom they would not only give the name of tyrant and usurper, but whom they would also excommunicate; that the prince himself would be sorely grieved to have the day stained with so cruel an action; that he himself would engage to watch him so closely on that day, that he would not have an opportunity of doing any thing which might be prejudicial to the common cause. In short, he urged so many things in his behalf, that the prelate's life was granted, the assembly not being able to deny any thing to so worthy an advocate.

Nothing now remained, but to regulate the order of the march and attack, which was agreed upon in this manner: they should divide into four companies, which should enter the palace by four different ways; so that all the avenues to it being stopt, the Spaniards might have no communication with, or be able to assist, one another: that Don Miguel d'Almeida, with his, should fall on the German guard, at the entrance of the palace: that Mello, lord Ranger, his brother, and Don Estevan d'Acugna, should attack the

\* Macedo tells us, that it was Don Antonio d'Almada.

guard, which was always set at a place called the Fort: that the lord-chamberlain Emanuel Saa, Teillo de Menezes, and Pinto, should enter Vafconcellos's apartment, whom they must immediately dispatch: that Don Antonio d' Almada, Mendoza, Don Carlos Norogna, and Antonio Salsaigni, should seize the vice-queen, and the Spaniards which were with her, to serve for hostages, in case of need. Mean while, some of the gentlemen, with a few of the most reputable citizens, should proclaim Don John, duke of Braganza, king of Portugal, throughout the city; and that the people being raised by their acclamations, they should make use of them to assist, where-ever they found any opposition. After this, they resolved to meet on the first of December in the morning, some at Almeida's, some at Almada's, and the rest at Mendoza's house, where every man should be furnished with necessary arms.

While these things were transacting at Lisbon, and that the duke's friends were using all their endeavours for his re-establishment, he received an express from Olivarez, who grew very jealous of his conduct, with positive orders to come immediately to Madrid; and that he might have nothing to colour his delay, he remitted him a bill upon the royal treasury for ten thousand ducats.

The commands laid upon him were so plain and positive, that the duke could not put off his journey without justly increasing his suspicion. He plainly foresaw, that if he did not obey those orders, the court of Madrid would take some such



measures as might prove fatal to him, and wholly destroy their project; he would not therefore refuse to obey, but made part of his household immediately set out, and take the Madrid road. In the presence of the courier, he gave several orders relating to the conduct of those he left his deputy-governors, and in all respects behaved himself like a man who was going a long journey. He dispatched a gentleman to the vice-queen, to give her notice of his departure, and wrote to Olivarez, that he would be at Madrid in eight days time at farthest; and that he might engage the courier to report all these things, he made him a considerable present, under pretence of rewarding him for his expeditious haste, in bringing him letters from the king, and his first ministers. At the same time he let the conspirators know what new orders he had received from court, that they might see the danger of deferring the execution of their design; but they were scarce in a capacity of assisting him, an accident having happened, which had almost broken all their measures.

There was at Lisbon a nobleman, who, on all occasions, had shewn an immortal hatred to the Spanish government; he never called them any thing but tyrants and usurpers, and would openly rail at their unjust proceedings; but nothing angered him more than the expedition of Catalonia: D' Almada, having taken care to fall often into his company, thought there was not a truer hearted Portuguese in the whole kingdom, and that no one would more strenuously labour for their liber-

ty. But, oh heaven ! how great was his surprize ! when having taken him aside, and discovered the whole conspiracy to him, this base, this cowardly wretch, whose whole courage was placed in his tongue, refused to have any hand in the business, or to engage himself with the conspirators, pretending that their plot had no solid foundation: bold and adventurous where no danger was, but fearful and daunted as soon as it appeared. " Have  
 " you, said he, to Almada, forces enough to undertake so great a thing? Where is your army  
 " to oppose the troops of Spain, who upon the first news of the revolt will enter the kingdom?  
 " What grandees have you at your head? Can  
 " they furnish you with money sufficient to defray the expence of a civil war? I fear, continued he, that instead of revenging yourselves  
 " on the Spaniards, and freeing Portugal from slavery, you will utterly ruin it, by giving the  
 " Spaniards a specious pretence for doing what they have been so long endeavouring at."

D' Almada, who expected nothing less than such an answer, and being very much troubled at his having entrusted the secret to a man, who in all probability would betray it, without replying drew his sword, and coming up to the other, his eyes sparkling with rage; " Base wretch, said he, by thy deceitful words thou hast drawn a  
 " secret from me, with which thou must take  
 " my life, or by the loss of thine atone for thy  
 " treachery." The other, who had always thought it safest to avoid the nearest danger, at the sight

of d'Almada's naked sword, promised to do any thing. He offered to sign the conspiracy, and offered weighty reasons to destroy his former objections; he swore that he would bury the secret in his heart, and endeavoured all he could to persuade Almada, that it was neither want of courage or hatred to the Spaniards, which had at first made him averse to what he had proposed.

Notwithstanding his oaths and promises, d'Almada could not be thoroughly satisfied of this man's fidelity; he took care, without losing sight of him, to let the others know what had happened. A general consternation immediately spread itself amongst them, and they feared, that the prospect of the danger which he must share, or the hope of a reward, would make this wretch betray them. Upon this, they resolved to defer the execution of their project, and forced Pinto to write to his master, to put off his being proclaimed in his country, until he should hear further from them. But Pinto, who knew how dangerous it was to defer such a thing, though but for a day, at the same time sent him another letter, in which he desired him to take no notice of his first, seeing that it was only the effect of a panic fear, which had seized the conspirators, and which would be over long before the express arrived.

Nor was this crafty man at all deceived; for the next day finding every thing still and quiet, and the person who caused the alarm, making fresh promises of secrecy, they concluded that ei-

ther he had armed his mind with a generous resolution of assisting them, or was afraid of impeaching so many persons of quality ; and therefore they determined to proceed to execution on the appointed day. But another adventure happened, which disquieted them as much as the former.

There were always in the palace several of the conspirators, walking up and down like courtiers out of place, whose business was to observe what was done within ; but on the evening of the last of November, they came in a fright to their companions, to tell them that Vasconcellos, by whose death they were to begin the mighty work, was just gone on board a yacht, and had crossed the Tagus. Who but conspirators would have taken notice of so indifferent a thing ? For a thousand reasons, in which they were not concerned, might have made him go on the other side of the water ; but they immediately concluded, that this artful statesman, who had always his spies abroad, had discovered the plot, and was about to bring into Lisbon those soldiers which were quartered in the villages on the other side of the river. Death, in its most ghastly shape, appeared to them, and they fancied that they already felt the cruellest torments which could be inflicted. Some were resolving to fly into Africa, other into England ; and all of them spent the first part of the night in the greatest disquiet imaginable, between the hopes of life, and fear of death. But about the middle of the night their



apprehensions vanished ; for some who had been sauntering about the port, to endeavour to discover the secretary's design, came and brought them the welcome news, that Vasconcellos had been only diverting himself upon the water, and that he was returned, with the music playing before him. A sudden joy succeeded to their grief, and about an hour after, being informed that every thing was quiet in the palace, and every body buried in a profound sleep, they returned home to enjoy a little rest, that they might be fitter for the morning's work.

It was very late, or rather very early, when they parted, and within some few hours of their appointed time, and yet an accident happened within these few hours, which had almost betrayed them ; so dangerous and uncertain are enterprises of this nature, whilst there are men, whom hopes of gain, or fear of punishment, can work upon to betray their fellows. Don George Mello, brother to lord Ranger, lodged at a relation's house, in the furthest suburbs of Lisbon. This gentleman thought, that now the time was come in which the conspiracy would break out, and there was no necessity of hiding it any longer from this relation, whom he had reason to believe was his friend, as also one that might be serviceable to them, and who otherwise would for ever reproach him with having distrusted him as one not true to the interest of his country. Wherefore as soon as he came home, he went into his chamber, and there revealed the secret, desiring him

to join in the enterprize with so many persons of quality, and to behave himself as a Portuguese ought to do upon such an occasion. The other, surprized at the strangeness of this news, affected a seeming joy for the approaching liberty of his country, thanked Mello for the confidence he reposed in him, and assured him, that he accounted himself happy in having an opportunity of exposing his life in so just and glorious a cause.

Upon this Mello retired to his chamber, to lay himself down to sleep, but scarce was he got thither, when he began seriously to reflect upon what he had been doing, and could not but think himself guilty of a very inconsiderate action, in putting the lives of so many persons of quality in the power of one, of whose principles he was not over well-assured; then began he to fancy, that he had observed something of fear in the countenance of the person, at the time when he was advising him to share the danger of the undertaking.

Full of these reflections, he could not lay him down to rest, but was walking in great disorder about his chamber, when he thought he overheard a kind of whispering noise. Opening his window softly to see if any body was in the street, he could perceive a servant holding his relation's horse, and himself ready to mount. Enraged at this, he snatched his sword, and hastening down stairs, seized his kinsman, and asked him whither he was going at this unseasonable time. The other would have forged an excuse, and was ham-

mering out a lie, but Mello holding his point to his breast, threatened to kill him, if he did not immediately go in again; then ordered he the keys of the house to be brought him, and having fastened all the doors himself, he retired with his kinsman, nor would he lose sight of him till it was time to go to the rendezvous, to which he carried him.

But now the morning dawned, that was to decide whether the duke of Braganza should be the king and deliverer of his country, or be accounted a rebel and traitor.

Betimes in the morning the conspirators met at the appointed places, where they were to be furnished with arms. They all appeared with so much resolution and courage, that they rather seemed marching to a certain victory, than to an uncertain enterprize. But what is very much to be admired at, is, that amongst such a number of nobility, gentry, citizens, nay, priests, not one should falsify his word, or break his promise, though their interests in the event were very different; but they all seemed as impatient for the important moment, as if each there had been the contriver of the scheme, or at the head of the enterprize; or rather, as if the crown was to have been the reward of each individual man's labour. Several ladies also made themselves famous on that day. But the noble behaviour of Donna Philippa de Villenes ought never to be forgotten, who with her own hands, armed both her sons; and giving them their swords, "Go, my children,

“ said she, put an end to a tyrant’s power, revenge  
 “ yourselves on your enemies, free your coun-  
 “ try, and be assured, that if success does not  
 “ crown your undertaking, your mother never  
 “ will live to see the cruel fate of so many brave  
 “ and deserving patriots.”

Every one being armed, they made the best of their way towards the palace, most of them in litters, that they might conceal their number and their arms. There they divided into four companies, and waited with patience until the palace-clock struck eight; that, and the firing of a pistol, being the appointed signal. Never did time seem so long; they feared that their being at that place so early, and in such a number, might make the secretary jealous of their design: but at last the long expected hour struck, and Pinto firing a pistol, they rushed forward to execute their bold design.

Don Miguel d’Almeida, with those that accompanied him, fell upon the German guard, who were so far from expecting any attack, that they were sitting very carelessly, few of them having their arms in hand; so that they were cut to pieces, without scarce making any resistance.

The lord Ranger, with his brother Mello, and Don Estevan d’Acugna, fell on the Spaniards, who kept guard at a place before the palace, called the Fort. These nobles, followed by most of the citizens who were engaged in the conspiracy, fell upon the Castilians sword in hand, and fought most resolutely; but no one behaved him-



self more bravely than one of the city priests: this reverend man, with a crucifix in one hand, and a sword in the other, appeared at the head of his party, and encouraged the people, both by his words and his example, to cut their enemies in pieces. The Spaniards awed at the sight of so religious an object, neither durst offend him, nor defend themselves, but fled before him. In short, after some small resistance, the officer of the guard, willing to save his own life, was forced to cry out with the rest, "Long live the duke of Braganza, king of Portugal!"

Pinto, having forced his way into the palace, marched at the head of those who were to enter Vasconcellos's apartment; so undauntedly, and with so little concern, that meeting with an acquaintance, who, surprized and frightened, asked him, whither he was going with such a number of armed men, and what they designed to do? "Nothing," said he smiling, "but change our master, rid you of a tyrant, and give Portugal their rightful king."

Entering the secretary's apartment, the first person they met with was the \* civil Corregidor; who, thinking that the noise he heard proceeded from some private quarrel, would have interposed his authority, but hearing a cry of "Long live the duke of Braganza, etc." thought he was in honour obliged to cry out, "Long live the king of Spain and Portugal:" but he lost his life for his

\* The judge in capital cases.

ill-timed loyalty, one of the conspirators immediately shooting him through the head.

Antonio Correa, first clerk of the secretary's office, ran out to know the occasion of the tumult. This was the man who was employed in oppressing the people, and who, after the example of his master, treated the nobility of the kingdom with scorn and contempt ; therefore as soon as he appeared, Don Antonio de Menezes plunged his sword into his bosom. But the blow not ending either his life or pride, and thinking that they had mistaken him, he turned towards Menezes, his eyes sparkling with rage and indignation, and, in a passionate manner, cried out, " Villain, darest thou strike me ?" But Menezes, without answering redoubled his blows ; and the other, having received four or five stabs, fell down : however, none of the wounds proved mortal, and he escaped at that time, to lose his life afterwards in an ignominious manner, by the hands of the common hangman.

This business had stopped the conspirators, but as soon as Correa fell, they all rushed forwards towards Vasconcellos's apartment. There was with him, at that time, Don Garcez Palleia, a captain of foot ; who seeing so many armed men, immediately concluded, that their design was to butcher the secretary. And though he was under no manner of obligation to that minister, yet he thought himself in honour obliged to lend him what assistance he could ; wherefore standing at the door, with his sword in hand, he barred that

passage: but one of the conspirators running him through the arm, and several, who were unwilling to give him fair play, pressing forward, he was glad to make his escape, by leaping out of a window.

Upon this, all the company that was with Pinto entered the chamber at once, and sought Vafconcellos: they over-turned the bed and tables, broke open the trunks, and every one was desirous of giving him the first blow; yet spite of their endeavour, they could not find him, and they began to fear that he had made his escape: but at last an old maid-servant being threatened with death, unless she would tell where her master was, and seeing the uplifted swords, pointed to a press which was made within the wall, and in which they found the secretary buried under a heap of papers.

So great was his fear of death, which he saw surrounding him on every side, that it prevented his speech. Don Roderigo de Saa, lord chamberlain, was the man who killed him, by shooting him through the head with a pistol; after which, several of the conspirators stabbed him, then threw him out of the window, crying, "Liberty! liberty! The tyrant is dead! Long love Don John, king of Portugal!"

The noise which all this had made, had drawn a vast number of people to the palace-court, who seeing the secretary's body thrown out, shouted in a most joyful manner; then rushing upon the carcase, they mangled it, every one being eager

to give him a stab, thinking, that through his sides, they wounded tyranny.

Thus perished Miguel Vasconcellos, a Portuguese by birth, but by inclination a Spaniard, and a sworn enemy to his country. He had an excellent genius for business, was crafty, politic, nor could any man apply himself closer to it than he did. He was always inventing new ways of extorting money from the people, was unmerciful, inexorable, and cruel, without the least regard to friend or relation; so fixed, that after he had taken a resolution, no one could bias his temper; and so hardened, that he never knew what the stings of conscience were. He had a soul that was not capable of relishing any pleasure, but that of hoarding up money; so that he left vast sums behind him, part of which the people plundered, being willing to repay themselves, in some measure, that which had been extorted from them.

Pinto, without loss of time, marched directly to join the other conspirators, who were to make themselves masters of the palace, and to seize the vice-queen; he found that the business was already done, and that success had every where crowned their undertakings. Those, who were appointed for that expedition, came directly up to her chamber, and the furious mob, who followed them, threatening to set her apartment on fire, if the door was not immediately opened; the vice-queen, thinking by her presence to pacify the nobility, and awe the people, came out, attended by her maids of honour, and the archbishop of



Braga; and addressing herself to the chief conspirators, "I own, gentlemen, said she, that the  
 " secretary justly deserved your hatred and indignation; his cruelty and his haughty insolence  
 " were intolerable, nor can his death be charged  
 " upon you as a crime, since you have only delivered yourselves from an oppressing minister:  
 " but cannot his blood satisfy you? or what other victim would you sacrifice to your resentment? Think seriously, that although his illegal conduct may excuse this insurrection,  
 " yet should you any longer continue in arms, rebellion will be laid at your doors, and you  
 " will put it out of my power to make your peace with the king."

Don Antonio de Menezes answered, and assured her, "That so many persons of quality  
 " had not taken up arms to murder a wretch,  
 " who ought to have lost his life by the hands  
 " of the common hangman; but that their design was to restore the crown to the duke of  
 " Braganza, to whom it lawfully belonged, and  
 " which the king of Spain had unjustly usurped;  
 " and that they were all ready to sacrifice their  
 " lives in so glorious a cause." She was about to reply, and to interpose the king's authority; but d'Ameida, who feared that such a speech might have a dangerous effect upon the people, or at least cool their courages, interrupted her, saying, "That Portugal acknowledged no other king but the duke of Braganza." Upon which the people shouted

again, crying, " Long live Don John, king of Portugal."

The vice-queen believing that her presence might be of service in the city, and have a good effect upon the people every where, where the conspirators were not present, was going in haste down stairs ; but Don Carlos Norogna stopped her, desiring that she would retire to her own apartment, assuring her that she should be treated with as much respect as if she still had the supreme command in the kingdom ; but told her that it would be dangerous for so great a princess to expose herself to the insults of a furious people, who were jealous of their liberties, and inflamed with thirst of revenge. The queen easily understood the meaning of his words, and found that she was their prisoner. Enraged at this, " And what can the people do to me ?" cried she. " Nothing, madam, replied Norogna in a passion, " but fling your highness out of the window."

The archbishop of Braga, hearing this answer, grew furious, and snatching a sword from one of the soldiers who stood next him, he flew towards Norogna, resolving to revenge the vice-queen, and had certainly met with death, the just reward of his rashness, had not Don Miguel d' Almeida laid hold of him, and embracing him, begged him to consider what danger he exposed himself to, telling him that he was already hated enough by the conspirators ; nor had he found it an easy task to obtain a promise of them that they would spare his life ; why then would he urge

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them by an action, which would not only be unprofitable to his cause, but which so highly misbecame his character? The prelate, convinced of the truth of what his friend said, was obliged to dissemble his anger; however, he hoped that he should meet with some favourable opportunity of revenging himself on Norogna, and doing something for the service of Spain, to whose interest he was entirely devoted.

The rest of the Spaniards who were in the palace, were made prisoners by the other conspirators: among these, were the marquiss of Puebla, major-domo to the vice-queen, and elder brother to the marquiss de Leganez; Don Didaco Cardenas, lieutenant-general of the cavalry; Don Ferdinand de Castro, comptroller of the navy-office; the marquiss de Baynetto, an Italian, gentleman-usher to the vice-queen; with some sea-officers, who lay on shore, and whose ships were in the harbour. All this was done as regularly and quietly, as if they had been taken up by an order from the king of Spain, no body stirring to their assistance, and they not being able to defend themselves, most of them having been seized in their beds.

This done, Don Antonio de Salsaigni, followed by a croud of friends, and an innumerable multitude of people, went up into the hall, where the court of justice was then sitting, and in an elegant speech laid before them the present happiness of Portugal, who had restored their own lawful king; he told them, that tyranny was now no more,

and that the laws, which had been long slighted and neglected, should henceforward take their regular course. This speech was applauded by the whole court, and they changed the title of their decrees, which they no longer made in the name of the king of Spain, but in the name of Don John, king of Portugal.

Whilst Salsaigni was thus persuading the high court of justice to adhere to the duke of Braganza's interest, Don Gaston Coutingno was taking out of prison those who had been thrown into it by the cruelty of the Spanish minister. These unhappy wretches, who had all along been persuaded, that they should end their lives in their dismal dungeons, unless taken out to be led to a cruel death; seeing themselves now at liberty, and their country in a fair way of being freed, and resolving to suffer any thing, rather than to return to their dark prisons, formed a body no less formidable than that of the conspirators, and who were as fully resolved to set the duke of Braganza on the throne.

But in the midst of this general joy, Pinto, with the rest of the leaders, were under great apprehensions: the Spaniards were yet masters of the citadel, from whence they could easily burn and destroy the town; besides which, the port was open to the Spanish fleet: therefore thinking that they had done nothing till they had taken that place, they went up to the vice-queen, and desired her to sign a warrant to the governor, by virtue of which he should be obliged to give them possession of the citadel.



She, far from granting what they asked, upbraided them as rebels and traitors, and with indignation asked them, whether they had a mind to make her an accomplice ? But d'Almada, who knew how dangerous it was to leave the enemies any longer in that fort, and being provoked at the vice-queen's denial, his eyes sparkling with rage, swore violently, that if she did not sign the warrant, he would forthwith put every one of the Spaniards to death, whom they had taken in the palace.

The poor princess, frightened with these threats, and unwilling to be the occasion of the death of so many persons of quality, was obliged to comply, thinking at the same time that the governor knew his duty too well, to obey an order, which he might be assured was signed by compulsion : but she was very much mistaken in her conjecture ; for Don Lewis del Campo, the Spanish governor, was a man of no resolution at all, and seeing the conspirators coming armed towards the citadel, and all the people of the town following them, who threatened to cut him and his garrison in pieces, unless he immediately surrendered, was glad to see the warrant, and have so fair an excuse for his cowardice ; wherefore he immediately obeyed the order, and gave up the fort.

Proud of having dispatched their business so happily, the conspirators forthwith deputed Mendoza, and the lord Ranger, to the duke of Braganza, to acquaint him with their success, and assure him, that nothing was now wanting but the

presence of their king to complete the happiness of his subjects.

Notwithstanding their message, his presence was not equally coveted by every body. The grandees of the kingdom could not see him raised to the throne, without being inwardly jealous of his fortune; and those of the nobility, who were not let into the secret, refused as yet to declare themselves; nay, some went so far as to assure the people, that the duke would never approve of so rash an action, and whose consequence might be so fatal to them all. Those, who were in the Spanish interest, were in a strange consternation, and did not dare so much as to stir abroad, lest they should be sacrificed by the people, whose rage was not yet appeased: in short, every body seemed at an uncertainty, and waited impatiently for the resolutions of the duke of Braganza.

But his friends, who were better acquainted with his intentions, still pursued what they had so happily begun, and assembled in the palace, to give the necessary orders. The archbishop of Lisbon was unanimously chosen president of the council, and lord-lieutenant of Portugal, till the king's arrival. He would at first have refused the office, declaring that his opinion was, that they had more need of a good general at their head, than of a man of his character. However, being pressed by the assembly to accept the place, he consented to it, on condition that he might have the archbishop of Braga for his colleague; who, he said, was well acquainted with the business,

and might be very serviceable to him during the king's absence.

This cunning prelate chose his brother archbishop sooner than any other man, well knowing that if he did accept it, he made himself an accomplice in what he called rebellion, and would be accounted a criminal by the Spanish minister: besides which, he would have only had the title of one of the lord-lieutenants, without any share of the power. But if, on the other hand, he refused it, he should for ever put him out of the king's favour, and make him odious to all the people, who henceforwards would look on him as an open and professed enemy to his country.

The archbishop of Braga was very sensible of the snare which was laid for him; but as he was wholly devoted to the vice-queen, and firm to the Spanish interest, he refused having any thing to do with the administration; so that the whole burden of the public affairs fell upon the archbishop of Lisbon: to ease him of part of which, they gave him for assistants Don Miguel d'Almeida, Pedro Mendoza, and Don Antonio d'Almada.

One of the first orders which the new governor gave, was to seize upon the three Spanish gallions which were then in the harbour; upon which they armed a few barks, and in them went most part of the Lisbon youth, so desirous were they of shewing their affection to the king: but the gallions were taken without resistance, the officers, and the greatest part of the ships crew, having been seized in the morning ashore

That very evening couriers were dispatched to every province, to exhort the people to give thanks for the recovery of their liberties, and the restoration of the duke of Braganza; with orders at the same time to all governors of towns, and other magistrates, to have him proclaimed king of Portugal, and to take all the Spaniards, in their respective districts, into custody.

And now they began to prepare every thing at Lisbon for the reception of the new king, and the archbishop sent word to the late vice-queen, that she would very much oblige them, in leaving the palace where she was, for he thought the king would want her apartment, and that he had prepared every thing for her reception at the palace of Xabregas, which was at the farther end of the town. This princess received the order with a scornful look, and without answering a word, obeyed it. She went through the street, but without the usual train of courtiers and croud of people; there was only the archbishop of Braga with her, who still gave her manifest tokens of his respect, even now when he exposed his life by so doing.

Mean while the duke of Braganza continued in the cruel state of uncertainty, sometimes flattering himself with the most pleasing ideas which a lively hope can form, and sometimes under the most dismal apprehensions which frightened fancy can suggest. The distance between Villaviciosa and Lisbon being thirty leagues, he could not know what had passed in his behalf so soon as he



could have wished. All that he knew was, that on this day his life and fortune were at stake. He had at first resolved to have himself proclaimed at the same time in all the towns which were under his dependance; but his mind changed, and he determined to wait for the news of what had passed at Lisbon, before he undertook any thing. There still remained the kingdom of Algarva, and the citadel of Elvas, to which he could retire, in case his party at Lisbon should fail; nay, he thought he could clear himself of having any hand in the conspiracy, especially at a time when the Spaniards would be glad to believe him innocent.

He had planted several couriers on the road to Lisbon, and thereby expected to have an account of what had passed betimes; but he had waited with impatience all the day, and the greatest part of the night, without hearing any thing, and the next morning was already near at hand, when Mello and Mendoza, who had had rode post to Lisbon, arrived. They threw themselves at the duke's feet, by which action, as well as by the joy which appeared in their faces, the success of their undertaking might be better read, than it was possible for them to express.

They were about to give him an exact account of every thing; but the duke, without hearing a word of what they had to tell him, conducted them to the duchess's apartment. The two noblemen saluted her with the same respect, as if she had actually been upon the throne; they assured her of the good-wishes and fidelity of her sub-

jects; and to shew her that they acknowledged her their queen, they now gave her the title of Majesty, whereas the kings and queens of Portugal had hitherto been always called their Highnesses.

We may easily judge of what passed in the hearts of this royal pair, if we consider the fears and agitations which they were before in, and to what grandeur they were now raised. Nothing but shouts of joy were heard throughout the palace, the happy news soon spread, and the same morning the king was proclaimed in all those places, where it should have been done the day before; Mello and Alphonso also had him proclaimed at Elvas. The people came in crowds to pay their homage to the new king; which, though in a confused manner, was no less agreeable to him, than what he afterwards received in all the formal pomp of ceremony.

The king immediately set out for Lisbon, with the same equipage which had been prepared for his setting out for Madrid. He was accompanied by the marquis de Ferreira, a relation of his; the count de Vimioso; and several other persons of quality, who were come to wait upon him to the capital.

The queen he left at Villaviciosa, knowing that her presence was necessary there to keep the provinces in awe. Every where, upon the roads to Lisbon, they met with infinite numbers of people, who crowded forwards to see the king; who had the satisfaction every where of hearing the people blessing him, and cursing the Spaniards.

All the nobility, with the whole court, and the magistrates of the city, met him at a great distance from Lisbon, and he entered the town amidst the acclamations of a joyful people. Dec. 6.

That evening there were illuminations every where, and fireworks in every public place; each citizen in particular had a bonfire before his door, which made a Spaniard say, "The duke of Braganza was a happy prince, who had got a whole kingdom for a bonfire. Nor was it long indeed before he was master of the whole kingdom, every town followed the example of their capital, and seemed as if they had a plot ripe for execution. Fresh couriers every day arrived, who brought news of towns, and sometimes of whole provinces, which had driven the Castilians out, and proclaimed the duke of Braganza. Nor were many of the Spanish governors more resolute than the commander of the citadel of Lisbon; and whether they wanted soldiers, ammunition, or courage, is uncertain, but most of them surrendered, without so much as giving the Portuguese the trouble of firing a gun. In short, they fled the kingdom like so many criminals who had broke out of prison; each man dreaded Vasconcellos's fate, and trembled at the sight of an incensed multitude: nor was there a Spaniard left in the whole kingdom, but those who were taken into custody, and all this in less than a fortnight's time.

Don Ferdinand de la Cueva, commander of the citadel of St. Juan, at the mouth of the Tagus, was the only man who offered to make any re-

sistance, and to preserve the place for the king his master. The garrison was wholly composed of Spaniards, the officers brave, and resolved to hold it out to the last ; and therefore, as soon as the Portuguese approached them, made a vigorous defence. They were obliged to besiege it in form ; to that end they brought cannon from Lisbon, and opened the trenches before it, which they carried as far as the counterkarp, spite of the continual fire of the besieged, and their frequent sallies. But the king, who knew that treating with the commander would be not only the safest, but the shortest way, made him such advantageous proposals, that the governor could not resist the temptation ; but dazzled with the prospect of the vast sum which was offered, besides a commandry of the Order of Christ, and pretending that his garrison was not strong enough to hold out a siege, he surrendered upon terms, spite of the chief officers, who refused to sign the capitulation.

This done, the king thought it best not to defer his coronation, that he might thereby confirm his royalty, and consecrate his majesty. The ceremony was performed on the fifteenth of December with all the magnificence imaginable ; the duke d'Aveiro, the marquiss de Villareal, the duke de Carmino, his son, the count de Monsano, and all the other grandees of the kingdom, being present. The archbishop of Lisbon at the head of all the clergy of his diocese, and accompanied by several other bishops, met him at the door of the cathedral ; there he was solemnly ac-

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known by the states of the kingdom their rightful and lawful king: after which every one of them took the oath of allegiance.

Some few days after the coronation, the queen arrived at Lisbon with a sumptuous equipage and numerous retinue. All the court went out of town to meet her, and she already had with her all the officers of the household. The king himself met her at some distance from the town. This prince omitted nothing which might make her entry appear magnificent, and convince the people that he believed she had very much contributed to the placing the crown upon his head. Every one observed, that notwithstanding her fortune was altered, yet was not the queen in the least changed, but behaved herself as majestically, as if she had been born to, and was educated for the possession of a throne.

SUCH was the success of this great enterprize, as happily finished, as it was prudently begun; which may be reckoned a sort of miracle, considering the vast number of persons, and the different quality and inclinations of those who were let into the secret: Nor can it be accounted for, but from the natural hatred which the Portuguese had to a Spanish government; a hatred! which took its rise from the frequent wars which these neighbouring nations waged against one another, ever since they had been monarchies; as well as from their being both concerned in the discovery of the Indies, and the frequent debates which they had

concerning their commerce. These at last grow into an inveterate hatred, which was now increased by the tyranny of Spain.

The news of the revolution soon reached the court of Spain. D'Olivarez was almost driven to despair at the hearing of it; he saw his own project miscarry, and ruin threatening his country, which might have been easily prevented, but could not now be remedied. Nor had Spain any need of acquiring new enemies, the French and Dutch troops already employed their utmost forces; with much ado they resisted their combined strength; and the revolt of Catalonia, he feared, might invite other provinces to do the like.

There was no one now in the court of Madrid ignorant of the news, but the king himself; every one thought that he ought to be informed of it, yet no one dared undertake the ungrateful task, for fear of incurring the minister's displeasure, whose implacable temper they knew too well, to hope that he would ever forgive an offence of this nature. At last the duke, seeing that the story was too well known, to be any longer concealed from the king, and fearing that some of his enemies, either to ingratiate or revenge themselves, should tell it in such a manner, that the whole fault would seem to fall upon him, he resolved to be himself the messenger, and coming up to the king, with a serene look, and a face on which a dissembled joy sat confessed, "I wish your majesty joy, said he, of a noble duchy, and a fine estate, which are lately fallen to you." "How

“ Olivarez ! answered the king ; what do you  
 “ mean ? ” “ Mean ! replied the minister ; why  
 “ the duke of Braganza is run mad, the mob  
 “ have proclaimed him king of Portugal, and he  
 “ has accepted the title ; so that now all he has is  
 “ confiscated, and you have a good pretence to  
 “ rid yourself of the whole family : Henceforwards  
 “ you may reign king of Portugal, nor fear that  
 “ any one will dispute your title to that king-  
 “ dom.”

As weak a prince as Philip was, he easily com-  
 prehended the meaning of these words ; but as he  
 could no longer see but through his minister’s eyes,  
 he only told him, that he must take care betimes  
 to put an end to a rebellion, whose consequence  
 might otherwise prove dangerous.

Mean while the king of Portugal took all the  
 necessary measures to confirm his new authority.  
 As soon as he came to Lisbon, he named governors  
 for every town of Portugal, as much distinguished  
 for their fidelity to him, as for their experience  
 and approved valour ; who immediately, with  
 what soldiers they could get together, went to take  
 possession of their command, and to put the place  
 in a posture of defence. At the same time re-  
 cruiting commissions were given out ; and the  
 solemnity of his coronation being over, Jan. 28.  
 he called together the states of the king- 1640-1.  
 dom ; in which, to prevent all the doubts  
 and scruples which might rise in the minds of the  
 people, his pretensions to the crown were exa-  
 mined, and by a solemn decree of the states he

was acknowledged rightful and lawful king, as being descended from prince Edward, son to king Emanuel ; whereas the king of Spain was only descended from a daughter of the same king Emanuel, who also, by the fundamental laws of Portugal, was excluded the succession, having espoused a foreign prince.

In this assembly the king declared, that he would content himself with his own estate, and that the usual royal revenue should be applied to the defraying of the extraordinary expences, and paying the debts of the kingdom. And the better to ingratiate himself with the people, he took off all the taxes which the oppressing Spaniards had laid upon them.

To all the considerable offices and employments, he promoted those of the conspirators, whose birth and capacity might give them just pretensions to it, and who had shewn the greatest desire of raising him to the throne. In this promotion, no notice was taken of Pinto ; the king did not think his royalty sufficiently confirmed, to venture at raising one of his servants, and whose extraction was but mean. However, the prince was not in the least unmindful of his service, and without having the title of a minister of state, he had the authority of one ; so great was his influence over his master, and such entire confidence did he repose in him.

Having given all the necessary orders within the kingdom, he resolved to assure himself of some foreign assistance, in case of necessity, as well by



making strict alliances with all the enemies of Spain, as by raising them new ones. To this end he endeavoured to persuade the duke of Medina Sidonia, governor of Andalusia, and his brother-in-law, to follow his example, shake off the Spanish yoke, and make himself an independent prince. The marquis Daiamonti, a Spanish nobleman, and related to the queen of Portugal, was to negotiate this business, the success of which will be seen in the sequel of this history.

The king of Portugal made a league offensive and defensive with the Dutch ; France promised him its protection, and he sent ambassadors to all the courts of Europe, that his title might be acknowledged by their princes. But the king of Spain was so destitute of men, Catalonia employing all his forces, that he did very little all that campaign for the recovery of Portugal, and even what he did undertake met with no success.

Some little time after this, news was brought, that Goa, and all those other places which belonged to Portugal, whether in the Indies, Africa, or in Peru, had followed the example of their European masters, and revolted from the Spaniards. Thus was the king flattered with the prospect of a happy reign, and rejoiced to see peace and tranquillity preserved within his kingdom, whilst his arms met with success abroad ; little suspecting the danger which threatened his life and crown, both which he had almost lost by a cursed conspiracy, which was formed even in the midst of that prince's court.

The archbishop of Braga, as has before been observed, was wholly devoted to the king of Spain, during whose reign in Portugal, he had had a great share in the ministry. He now plainly saw, that he must never think of any preferment, unless the Spanish government could be again introduced into that kingdom; besides, he feared that the new king, who out of a tender regard to his character, had not had him put into prison with the other Spaniards, might alter his mind, and seeing his authority once confirmed, and dreading no longer the danger of incensing the people, or provoking the inquisition, might make him share the fate of those, whose courage, or politics it was thought, might prove prejudicial to the new king's government, and who had all been deprived of their liberty. But the chief motive which induced him to undertake something for their cause, was his affection to the late vice-queen: with impatience he beheld that princess under confinement, especially in a place where he thought it was her right to rule; and his rage was violently increased by the orders which were given her guards to admit neither the prelate, nor any other person of quality, the king having been informed that she endeavoured to infuse sentiments of rebellion into all those Portuguese who went to visit her; and therefore thought fit to deprive her of that liberty, which she so palpably abused. As just and as necessary as this proceeding was, the archbishop called it cruel and tyrannic; and as he had some notions of gratitude, believed himself

under an obligation of doing something for the liberty of a princess, who had done so much for him. The remembrance of her past kindness enflamed his soul with anger, and made him resolve to embrace any opportunity whatsoever of revenging himself on her enemies, and delivering her out of their hands. But as he plainly saw it would be impossible either to surprize or corrupt her guards, he could not think of any surer way than going directly to the fountain-head, and by the death of the king, to restore her liberty and authority both at once.

Being fully confirmed in this resolution, he began to think of the speediest means of putting it in execution, well knowing that he should not long enjoy the place of president of the palace, which was not as yet taken from him. He plainly saw that it was in vain to follow the king's measures, by endeavouring to win the people, and make them join with him ; their hatred to the Spaniards being too deeply rooted in their hearts. The nobility, he was assured, would not assist him, since by their means the crown was placed upon the duke of Braganza's head : He could therefore only depend upon the grandees, who with envy beheld one that had been their equal, upon the throne. The first thing he did, was to assure himself of Olivarez's protection and assistance : after which, he began to work upon the marquis of Villareal ; to whom he represented, that the new king was timorous and diffident, for which reason he sought all opportunities of ruining his

family, lest he should leave a subject who was capable of disputing the crown with his successor : that he and the duke d' Aveiro, who were both of the royal blood, were not thought worthy of any office or employment ; whilst all places of trust were filled by a company of factious and seditious people : that with indignation the people saw how little he was valued, and were very much troubled to think that a person of his quality and capacity must spend his time at a country-seat, and in an inglorious ease : that one of his birth and estate was too great to be the subject of so petty a prince as the king of Portugal : that he had lost a master in the king of Spain, who only was capable of bestowing such employments on him as he deserved, by reason of the many kingdoms of which he was sovereign, and over which he must establish governors.

Seeing that this discourse made an impression on the mind of the marquis, he went so far as to assure him, that he had orders from the king of Spain to promise him the viceroyalty of Portugal, as a reward of his loyalty, in case he would assist him in his design of recovering that kingdom.

Notwithstanding what the archbishop promised, the thing was very far from his heart ; his chief aim being to restore the duchess of Mantua to her liberty and former authority : for the compassing of which, he thought it very lawful to promise what he never intended to perform ; and he knew that ambitious motives were the likeliest to engage the marquis de Villareal, upon whom



his fair speeches had at last such an effect, that he yielded to his persuasions, and promised that he, with his son the duke of Camino, would be at the head of the enterprize.

This prelate, being thus assured of these two princes, made it his next business to engage the grand inquisitor, who was his intimate friend, and than whom no one could be more necessary in carrying on their great design; seeing that by his means he should also prevail upon all the officers belonging to the inquisition, a people more to be dreaded by honest men than rogues, and who bear a great sway amongst the Portuguese. He endeavoured at first to alarm his conscience, by reminding him of the oath of allegiance which he had taken to the king of Spain, and which he ought not to break in favour of an usurping tyrant; but finding the inquisitor a true churchman, over whom interest had a greater sway than conscience, he told him that he must join in the plot, if he hoped to keep his place much longer, for that the new king made it his business to give all the employments to persons whose fidelity he could depend upon.

After this, he spent several months in increasing the number of conspirators, the chief of which were the commissary of the Crusade; the count d' Armamar, nephew to the archbishop; the count de Ballerais; Don Augustin Emanuel; Antonio Correa, that clerk of Vasconcellos, to whom Menezes had given divers stabs on the first day of the revolution; Laurento Pidcz Carvable, keeper of

the royal treasury ; with several others, who were the creatures of the Spanish ministers, to whom they owed their fortunes and their places, and which they could not hope to keep long, unless by once more introducing the Spanish government.

There were also a vast number of Jews who were concerned in the plot, and who had long lived at Lisbon in an outward profession of the Christian faith. These had lately offered the king a vast sum of money, if he would free them from the persecution of the inquisitors, and let them have their synagogues at Lisbon ; but the prince rejected their offer, and denied their petition. This had thrown the chief of them into a great consternation ; for appearing at the head of the petitioners, they had made themselves known, and thereby exposed themselves to all the torments which the inquisition could invent.

With these the archbishop took care to get acquainted, and taking advantage of the confusion they were in, promised them his protection, which was not to be despised, since he had such an influence over the grand inquisitor ; but insinuated at the same time, that they were in danger of being banished Portugal by the king, who affected very much to be thought a true and pious catholic : and at the same time promised in the name of the king of Spain, that if they would be instrumental to his restoration, they should have liberty of conscience, and leave openly to profess their religion.

So violent was the passion of the archbishop,

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that he was not ashamed to make use of the professed enemies of Jesus Christ, to drive a Christian prince from a throne, which rightfully belonged to him; and this was perhaps the first time that ever the inquisition and synagogue went hand in hand together.

Several schemes were proposed, but at last this, which was drawn by the archbishop, and approved of by the first minister of Spain, was agreed upon; that the Jews should set fire to the four corners of the palace on the fifth of August, and at the same time to several houses both in the city and suburbs, that the people might every where be employed in extinguishing the fire; that the conspirators should all fly to the palace under pretence of assisting, and that amidst the horror and confusion which this vast conflagration would cause, some of them should assassinate the king; that the duke de Camino should seize the queen and her children, who might be as serviceable to them in regaining the citadel, as the duchess of Mantua had been to their enemies; that at the same time there should be fireworks ready to be played off, to set the Portuguese fleet on fire; that the archbishop, with the grand inquisitor, and all his officers, should march through the town, to keep the people in awe, and prevent their coming to the assistance of the king, so much do they dread the power of the inquisition! and that the marquis de Villareal should take the administration upon him, until they had received orders from the court of Spain.

But as they had not the least reason to hope that the people would second them, they thought it necessary to make sure of some troops, and to that end wrote to Olivarez, to send a fleet towards the coasts of Portugal, which should be ready to enter the port of Lisbon, at the time when the conspiracy should break out; and that there should be some forces on foot on the frontiers of the kingdom, which should be in a readiness to act against any place, which would not willingly surrender to the king of Spain.

But the most difficult part of their labour, was to keep an exact correspondence with the Spanish minister: for since the king had been informed that the duchess of Mantua had sent letters to Madrid, there was such a strict guard kept upon the frontiers of the kingdom, that no one could go into Castile without the king's own passport; nor did they dare attempt to corrupt the guards, lest they should reveal what had been offered them.

But at last, seeing themselves under an absolute necessity of acquainting the Spanish minister with their design, without which all their measures would infallibly be broken; they cast their eyes upon a rich merchant of Lisbon, who was treasurer of the custom-house; and who, by reason of his great trade, had the king's immediate leave to send letters into Castile at any time. This man's name was Baeze; he outwardly professed the Christian religion, but was supposed to be a concealed observer of the Jewish law. To him they offered vast sums of money for his assistance; which,

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together with the persuasions of the Jews who were engaged in the conspiracy, prevailed upon him so far, that he promised to take care that their letters should be delivered to the duke d' Olivarez.

To this end, he enclosed the paquet directed to the marquís Daiamonti, governor of the first town on the frontiers of Spain, believing his letters safe, when once out of the dominions of Portugal.

The marquís, who was nearly related to the queen, and was at that time carrying on a negotiation with the new king of Portugal, was very much surprized to see letters sealed with the great seal of the inquisition, and directed to the first minister of Spain; and beginning to fear that his own business was discovered, and notice of it hereby given to Olivarez, he opened them, and found that they contained the scheme of a conspiracy against the royal family, and which was speedily to be put in execution.

Startled at the contents, he dispatched a courier to the court of Portugal, with the intercepted letters. It is impossible to express the surprize of the king, when he saw that three princes, who were so nearly related to him, with the archbishop, and several grandees of the kingdom, were contriving how to take away his life, and give his crown to a stranger.

He immediately communicated their intended treason to his privy-council, who, after a small deliberation came to a resolution, which some few days afterwards was executed. The fifth of Octo-

ber was the day appointed by the conspirators, and the time eleven at night. That very morning, about ten of the clock, all the soldiers who were quartered in the neighbouring villages, marched into Lisbon, it having been given out that they were then to be reviewed in the court of the palace. The king at the same time gave notes with his own hand, to several officers and others of his court, which were sealed up, with positive orders not to open them until twelve, and then punctually to execute the contents.

A little before noon, the archbishop, and the marquiss de Villareal, were sent for to the palace about some business, and coming into the king's apartment, were arrested without the least noise, or any body's knowing it; and at the same time one of the captains of the guard made the duke de Camino a prisoner. Those who had received the sealed notes, having opened them, found orders to arrest such a man, whom they should convey to such a prison, and not lose sight of him, until farther orders. In short, matters were managed so prudently, that in less than an hour's time, the forty-seven conspirators were seized, without so much as giving any one of them time enough to escape, or even the least suspicion that their plot was discovered.

The news of their intended barbarity reaching the ears of the people, they came flocking towards the palace, and in a tumultuous manner demanded the prisoners, that they might tear them piece-meal.

Though the king was well-pleased with the affection and loyalty of his subjects, yet was he a little troubled to see how easily they could be gathered together, and what mischief they were at such a time able to do. Wherefore having thanked them for the care which they took of him, and having promised that the traitors should be punished according to law, he ordered the magistrates to disperse them.

But as he knew that the most violent passions of an increased people will soon grow cool, and perhaps dwindle into compassion, when they no longer should consider the criminals as the worst of villains, who would have destroyed their king and country, but as unhappy wretches, who must shortly suffer an ignominious death; he took care to publish, that the conspirators intent was to assassinate him, and all the royal family, to set the whole town on fire, and those who escaped the raging-flames should have fallen by the sword of the rebels: that Spain, being resolved to have nothing more to fear from the Portuguese, would have sent all their citizens into America, to toil like slaves, and be buried alive in those mines, where so many had already perished, and to people the city of Lisbon with a colony of Castilians.

After this, the king ordered the traitors to be brought to their trial, and to this end he appointed judges, which he took out of the supreme court of judicature, and to whom he added two grantees of the kingdom, upon account of the arch-

bishop of Braga, the marquís de Villareal, and the duke de Camino.

The king put their letters, which they had sent to Olivarez, into the hands of those who were appointed to prosecute them ; but with orders not to make use of them, if they could by any other means prove them guilty of high treason, lest the court of Spain should thereby discover the correspondence which he held with the marquís Daíamonti : But there was no necessity of producing them to discover the truth ; for Baeze, who was the first that was brought to the bar, contradicted himself in almost every question which was asked him, and being put to the torture, his courage failed him, he confessed his crime, and discovered the whole plan of the conspiracy. He owned that their design was to kill the king ; that the office of the inquisition was now full of arms, and that they waited only for Olivarez's answer to execute their design.

Most of the other conspirators were put to the torture, and their disposition entirely agreed with Baeza's. The archbishop, the grand inquisitor, the marquís de Villareal, and the duke de Camino, being unwilling to suffer the torments of the question, confessed their crime. These two last were condemned to be beheaded, the rest of the lay-traitors to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and the sentence of the ecclesiastics was referred to the king himself. Upon this, the king immediately assembled his council, and told them, that the consequence of putting so many persons of



quality to death, although they were criminal, might be fatal : that the chief conspirators were of the first families of the kingdom, whose relations would be for ever his concealed enemies, and that the desire of revenging their death would be the unhappy source of new plots : that the consequence of the death of count d' Egmont in Flanders, and of the Guises in France, had proved fatal : and if he pardoned some of them, and changed the sentence of the others into a punishment less severe than death, he should for ever win theirs, their friends, and their kindreds hearts, and bind them to his service by the ties of gratitude : but yet, that notwithstanding he himself was inclined to mercy, he had assembled his council to know their opinions, and to follow that which should seem the most reasonable, and the most just.

The marquiss de Ferreira was the first who spoke, and was for having them executed without delay : he represented, that in such cases as these justice only ought to be consulted, and that mercy was most dangerous : that pardon would seem not so much the effect of the goodness, as weakness of the prince, or the fear of their threatening powerful friends : that if these should go unpunished, it would bring the government into contempt, and encourage their relations to deliver them out of prison, or perhaps to carry matters farther : that now, at his accession to the crown, he ought, by an example of severity, to deter others from ever attempting the like. He urged

farther, that they were traitors not only to the king, but also to the state, whose present constitution they had endeavoured to subvert : that he ought rather to hearken to the justice which he owed his people, and punish these criminals, than to his own inclinations of forgiving them, especially at a time when his preservation and the public safety were inseparable.

The whole council being of the same opinion, the king yielded, and the next day sentence was executed. The archbishop of Lisbon, being willing to save one of his friends, came to the queen, and solicited her for a pardon, with all the assurance of a man, who thought that nothing could be denied him, and that his former services might claim a much greater favour. But the queen, who was convinced of the justice and absolute necessity of their suffering the law, and how much a distinction of this nature would increase the friends and relations of the rest, answered the archbishop in a few words, but with such a tone, as made him see it would be in vain to urge his request any farther ; “ My lord, the only favour I can now grant you, is to forget that you ever asked me this.”

The king, unwilling to disoblige the clergy, and especially the court of Rome, who had not as yet acknowledged him king, or received his ambassadors, would not suffer the archbishop of Braga, or the grand inquisitor, to be executed, but condemned them to a perpetual imprisonment ; where the archbishop shortly after died of a violent

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fever, a disease often fatal to state-prisoners, who for some politic reason must not be led to open execution.

Nothing could be equal to the surprize of Olí- varez, when this news was brought him; he could not imagine by what means the king of Portugal had discovered their design, nor would it ever have been known, had not an accident happened, which made him see that it was the marquís Daíamonti who had unravelled the dark design, and acquainted the king with it.

This prince still kept a very good correspondence with the enemies of Spain; his ports were open to the fleets of France and Holland; he had a resident at Barcelona, and encouraged the revolting Catalonians: In short, he did all he could to weaken Spain, not only by increasing the rage of her foes, but also by endeavouring to raise up new ones. To this end, he had already inclined the duke de Medina Sidonia, his brother-in-law, to rebel; whom the marquís Daíamonti, a Castilian, and their mutual confident, at length entirely seduced. This nobleman was, as has been before observed, nearly related to the queen of Portugal, and the duke of Medina: he was governor of a place at the mouth of the Guadiana, just on the frontiers of Portugal, which made it easy for him to keep a good correspondence with that court; nor did he question but that, by being serviceable to two such powerful families, he should easily make his own fortune. He was valiant and enterprizing; hated the first minister,

and at the same time did not in the least value his life; a quality very necessary to those who embark themselves in any dangerous design.

He wrote privately to the duke, to congratulate him upon the discovery of the archbishop's plot, the preservation of the life of the queen his sister, and all the royal family; and he at the same time insinuated to him, that it was perfectly consistent with his interest to be desirous that the new king should be in a capacity to preserve a crown which would one day be transmitted to his own nephews; and, that as Portugal lay contiguous to Castile, it would always afford him a sure retreat in any disagreeable season, more especially during the ministry of the duke de Olivarez, whose absolute and imperious views tended very much to the debasement of the grandees: nor was it to be supposed, that the crafty statesman would long leave him governor of so large a province, and in the neighbourhood of Portugal: that he would advise him seriously to reflect on all these things, and let him know his resolutions; to which end he should send him a person in whom he could confide, and to whom they both might safely trust their secret.

The duke was naturally proud and ambitious, and with envy had beheld his brother-in-law raising himself to the throne; believing, by what the marquis said, that he had some very advantageous proposal of this kind to make him, he sent Lewis de Castile, his confidant, to Daïamonti; who seeing his credentials, at once opened his



mind, and bid him remember with what ease the duke of Braganza had made himself master of the crown of Portugal ; and he assured him, that the duke of Medina would never find a more favourable conjuncture to establish the grandeur of his house, and make it independent of the crown of Spain.

After this he represented the weakness of that kingdom, which was exhausted by the wars that the French and Dutch had continually waged against them : that Catalonia had employed all its forces ; nor would the king know how to help himself, should Andalusia rise in arms against him, and the war be thus carried into the very heart of the kingdom : that the people would certainly side with him, being always fond of a new government ; besides which, they had reason enough to complain of the old one, which had so oppressed them with taxes, and extorted such vast sums from them : that the duke of Medina was as well beloved by the Andalusians, as the duke of Braganza was, at the time of the revolution, by the Portuguese : that the only thing which now remained to be done, was to gain all those, who, under him were governors of towns and forts, without letting them into the secret, which might be done ; and to fill all places of trust with his best friends : that as soon as the galleons, which were expected from the Indies, arrived, he should seize them, and the riches which were on board would defray the expences of this enterprize : that the king of Portugal, with his allies, should have a fleet

ready to enter Cadiz, and there land a sufficient number of forces, to subdue those who would unreasonably shew their royalty to Spain.

Lewis de Castile, being returned to his master, gave him a faithful account of all that had passed between him and the marquiss. The duke, dazzled with the prospect of a crown, resolved to hazard every thing, rather than fail of obtaining it. He was chief commander there, both by sea and land; being captain general of the ocean, and governor of the province, in which he also had a very large estate, and several towns under his own immediate jurisdiction. This seemed very much to facilitate his design, and made him believe, that it was in his power to set a crown on his head whenever he pleased.

Upon this he sent Lewis de Castile back to the marquiss, that they might agree together upon the properest measures of accomplishing their project, and especially of engaging the crown of Portugal to lend them all the assistance it possibly could. Mean while, he himself was disposing every thing for the intended revolution; he put his own creatures into all those places where their assistance would be most serviceable to him; he frequently would pity the soldiers, who were not paid as they ought to be, and the people, who were overburdened with excessive taxes.

The marquiss Daiamonti was well pleased to find the duke in that disposition he had long wished to see him; he wanted to acquaint the king of Portugal with it, and was unwilling to trust to

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letters, and feared he could not send a messenger so privately, but that the court of Spain might discover it, and have just cause to mistrust his fidelity : however, at last he cast his eyes upon a crafty and intriguing monk, who for love of money, or hope of preferment, would undertake any thing ; he was called father Nicholas de Valasco, of the order of St. Francis. No one could be fitter for his purpose, since in the countries where the inquisition is, this habit is so much respected, that no one would dare to pry into his actions, and observe his steps.

As soon as he had received his instructions, he came to Castro-Marino, the first town on the frontiers of Portugal, pretending to ransom some Castilian prisoners which were detained in Portugal. The king, who had notice given him of it, by a letter from the marquiss Daïamonti, was desired to seize him, and bring him to court : this was accordingly done ; he was arrested as a spy, loaded with chains, and brought to Lisbon as a state-criminal, whom the ministry themselves would examine ; where he was immediately cast into prison, and seemingly watched very strictly : some time after he was set at liberty, since upon examination it appeared, that his only intent was to ransom some Castilian prisoners ; and partly, to make him amends for his former ill usage, he was permitted to come to court, to treat with the proper officer about it.

The king saw him himself several times, and promised him, that as a reward of his industry and

faithful service, he would give him a bishopric. The monk, flattered with the hopes of the mitre, would never stir from the palace ; he made his court to the queen, and was always waiting upon the ministers : he wanted to be let into all the state-intrigues, and did all he could to shew what credit he had at court ; and thus, without directly revealing his secret, he betrayed it by his pride and inconsiderateness. It plainly appeared, that the severity of his prison was only a blind, and the examination of the ministry a pretence to introduce him into court. Many and various were the conjectures which were made about his real business there ; but at last a Castilian, who was prisoner at Lisbon, discovered the whole intrigue.

This Castilian, named Sancho, was a creature of the duke of Medina Sidonia, and, before the late revolution, pay-master of the Spanish army in Portugal. He, with the rest of his countrymen who were taken up at that time, groaned in confinement, nor had they any prospect of liberty ; but hearing of this monk, and being informed of his country, his extravagant conduct, his credit at court, and several other circumstances, which made it plain that he was there employed in some secret business ; he thought he had now an opportunity of obtaining his liberty, and with this hope he wrote the monk a long letter, full of expressions fit to soothe his vanity ; in it he complained, that the king of Portugal detained him in prison, with the other Castilians, who was a servant and creature of the duke his brother-in-



law : and to confirm it, he sent him several letters, wrote to him by that prince himself, some little time before the revolution, in which he treated him as one in whom he reposed an entire confidence.

The Franciscan answered Sancho's letter, and assured him, that nothing could recommend him more to him, that his belonging to the duke of Medina ; that he would use all his endeavour to procure him his liberty ; but in the mean time he must take care not so much as to open his mouth about it. The Spaniard waited some days for the effect of his promise, and at last sent him a second epistle, in which he represented, that seven months were expired since he was cast into prison ; that the Spanish minister seemed to have quite forgotten him, since he neither talked of ransoming or exchanging him ; and that therefore he had no hopes of liberty left, but what were built upon the charity and interest of the reverend father.

The monk, who thought he should very much oblige the duke of Medina, by procuring Sancho his freedom, begged it of the king, and obtained it. He went to the prison himself, to fetch him out of it, and offered to have him included in a passport, which was to be given to some of the duchess of Mantua's servants, who were then returning to Madrid. But the crafty Castilian answered him, that Madrid was a place to which he could never more return ; that he must not pretend to appear at court, unless he desired to be

thrown into prison again, seeing that Olivarez was so severe and unjust, that he would expect his accounts to be made up, although in the late revolution he had been stripped not only of his money, but had had his books also taken from him : to this he added, that he desired nothing more than to be near the duke of Medina, his patron, who was both able and willing, he did not question, to advance him.

The Franciscan wanting some body whom he could trust his secret to, and by whom he might give the marquiss Daiamonti a strict account of his negociation, cast his eyes upon the Castilian, who seemed very much attached to the interest of the duke of Medina. To this end he detained the Spaniard some time, pretending that he could not as yet procure him a passport, though his intent was to observe him, and see whether or not he was a person fit to be entrusted. Their being frequently together begat an intimate acquaintance, which they both mutually desired; the monk, that he might engage the Spaniard to serve him; and the Spaniard, that he might make himself master of the monk's secret.

This holy man, like the rest of his brethren, puffed up with vanity, could not forbear one day telling his friend, that he would not long see him in that garb in which he was, that he had a bishopric promised him, and that he did not despair of obtaining the Roman purple. Sancho, the more effectually to draw the secret from him, pretended that he did not believe a word of what

he said. The friar laughed at his incredulity :  
“ And I suppose, continued he, you would not  
“ believe me neither, if I should tell you, that  
“ the duke of Medina will shortly be a king.”  
The other, to get the secret quite out of him, urged the impossibility of it ; upon which the monk told him the whole story ; that Andalusia must in a little time acknowledge the duke for their sovereign : that the marquiss Daiamonti, who had also discovered the Spanish plot to the king of Portugal, was the chief negotiator and instrument of this intended revolution : that he should shortly see strange operations in Spain, and that he had now an opportunity of making his fortune only by being secret, and taking care to deliver some letters from him, to the duke and marquiss.

Sancho well pleased at the discovery of this secret, which he had long laboured to get out of him, renewed his protestations of fidelity and secrecy, and his offers of service ; and having taken Velasco's letters, told him, that he should be proud of the opportunity of serving the prince, and hoped that he should be thought worthy of the honour of bringing him an answer. Upon this the Castilian set out for Andalusia, but was no sooner got into the Spanish territories, than he took the Madrid road ; and as soon as he arrived, went straight to the minister's house, and sent him word that Sancho, pay-master of the army in Portugal, was just escaped out of prison, where he

had been confined by the usurper, and had some important business to communicate to him.

It was a very hard matter to gain access to Olivarez, who had his set hours of granting audience, and at which time he sent word the pay-master must return. Enraged at this refusal, Sancho cried he must, he would speak to him; that his business was no trifle, but the safety of the kingdom depended on its being immediately revealed.

This being told Olivarez, he ordered him to be admitted: Sancho entered the room, and threw himself at his feet, crying the kingdom was saved from the ruin which threatened it, since he had gained admittance to one, in whose power it was to prevent it; then told the whole story of the duke of Medina's intent, encouraged in it by the king of Portugal, and persuaded to it by the marquis Daïamonti, his design of seizing upon the galleons, and of making the soldiers of Andalusia turn their arms against their king: to justify all which, he delivered those letters given him by the Franciscan for the duke and marquis, and which contained the scheme of the conspiracy.

Olivarez was so surprized at the strangeness of this news, that he could not for some time utter a word, but at last recovering himself, he praised Sancho for his loyalty, and told him that he deserved a double reward, not only as he had revealed the plot, but also as he had not been afraid to discover it even to the nearest relation of the chief conspirator. Then ordered he the Spaniard



to be conducted into a private apartment, and be debarred the liberty of speaking to any one.

Mean while the minister went into the king's apartment, and told him all that Sancho had related, and shewed him the letters which he had delivered him.

Never was prince in a greater consternation than Philip was; long had he observed and dreaded the haughty carriage of the Gufmans; and as the loss of Portugal, which he thought was owing to the duchess of Braganza, was still fresh in his memory, he could not forbear telling Olivarez in a reproachful manner, that all the misfortunes which the Spaniards had lately suffered, they were beholden to his family for. This prince wanted neither wit or judgment, but he was so addicted to pleasure, that he would never apply himself to any thing that carried the face of business, but would rather have lost half his dominions, than be obliged to quit his indolent and effeminate manner of living: wherefore having vented his passion in this reproach, he gave the Franciscan's letters back to Olivarez, without so much as opening them; ordering him to have them examined by a committee, composed of three members of his privy-council, who should make their report to him.

This was all that Olivarez desired, for now he could give the business what turn he pleased. He chose three of his own creatures for the commissioners, into whose hands the letters were put, and by whom Sancho was examined several times;

all their aim was to acquit the duke of Medina; to which end Olivarez himself came to Sancho, and affecting an affable behaviour, and an extraordinary kindness to the man; How, "my dear Sancho, said he, shall we contrive to acquit the duke of Medina of a crime, which is testified only by the letters of an unknown monk, and who probably was bribed by the duke's enemies to lay this to his charge; for certain it is, that never governor of Andalusia discharged his duty better, both towards the king and his province."

Sancho, who was fully persuaded of the truth of his deposition, and feared that any of the criminals should be acquitted, lest he should lose his hoped-for reward, still maintained, that he was well assured that there was an horrid conspiracy formed against the government in favour of the duke, who was also at the head of it; that the marquiss Daïamonti was the contriver of the plot; and that he himself had read several of their letters, which were shewn him by the Franciscan, and was certain, that if Olivarez did not prevent it in time, all Andalusia would be up in arms, to make their governor their monarch.

Olivarez, very unwilling that this business should be too narrowly searched into, took an opportunity of telling the king, that the monk's letters had been decyphered and examined, and that he really believed him to be some wretch who had been bribed to calumniate the duke; for there was no letter of his produced, nor did San-

cho make any formal deposition against him. However, as it was impossible to be too cautious in such a case as this, his opinion was, that the duke must be artfully drawn to court, for if he had any such design on foot, it was not safe to arrest him in Andalusia ; that some forces must be sent to Cadiz under a new governor ; that the marquiss Daïamonti must be taken up at the same time, and if they were found guilty, his majesty might deliver them over to the severity of the law.

This haughty minister's will was not only generally a law to the subjects of Spain, but was always one to the king ; who told him, that he should manage this business as he thought fit, for he left it entirely to him. Upon this Olivarez sent his nephew, Don Lewis d' Haro, to the duke of Medina, to tell him what had been deposed against him, and with orders, that guilty or not guilty, he shall immediately come to court, which if he did, his pardon shall be granted ; but that if he deferred his journey, it would no longer be in his power to procure it.

This message thunder-struck the duke of Medina, and he saw himself under a necessity of obeying, or immediately flying into Portugal : but then considering how ignominious it was to spend his days in indolence, and live a banished man, especially in a country where there was no employment worthy of him, and at the same time knowing how great Olivarez's power was ; he resolved to trust him ; and set out for Madrid, and with such diligence did he pursue his journey,

that the king was immediately inclined to believe him innocent, or to forgive him, should he be found guilty.

Whilst Don Lewis d' Haro was employed in this business, a messenger was sent to take up the marquis Daiamonti; and the duke of Ciudadreal marched into Cadiz at the head of five thousand men.

As soon as the duke of Medina arrived at Madrid, he went and alighted at Olivarez's house, to whom he confessed the conspiracy, shewed him the scheme by which they were to proceed, but cast all the odium of it upon the marquis. Olivarez that instant introduced him into the king's closet, where he threw himself at his majesty's feet, and with tears confessed his crime, and begged his pardon. Philip, who was of a soft and compassionate nature, mixed his tears with the duke's, and easily forgave him. But as it would have been very imprudent to have exposed him to the same temptation a second time, he was ordered to stay at court; part of his estate was also confiscated, the king being sensible, that had he not been too rich, and too powerful, he would never have made an attempt of this kind: and a governor and a garrison were placed in Saint Lucar de Barameda, the town in which the dukes of Medina Sidonia generally resided.

Olivarez to persuade the king that his relation's repentance was sincere, advised him to send a formal challenge to the duke of Braganza; which he refused at first, objecting that both divine and



human laws forbade duels. But Olivarez persisting in his resolution of having one sent, Medina replied, that he could not in conscience come to this extremity with his brother-in-law, unless the king would obtain a bull from the pope, which should secure him from the censure of the church, which always excommunicated duellists.

Olivarez answered him, that this was not a time for scruples of conscience, but that he must now think of satisfying both the king and people of the sincerity of his repentance; and in short it was no matter whether he would fight or not, provided he would not disown a challenge, which he would publish in his name. The duke, who now plainly saw that Olivarez's intent was only to amuse the people, consented to it, and the minister drew up one himself. Several of them were sent into Portugal, as well as into most courts of Europe. A copy of it may probably not be displeasing to the reader, who will be surprized to see a challenge, which by its length, formality, and stile, would better have become a knight-errant of old, than such a prince as the duke of Medina Sidonia was.

*Don GASPAR ALONCO PEREZ de GUSMAN, duke of Medina Sidonia, marquiss, earl and baron of St. Lucar de Barcameda captain general of the ocean, of the coasts of Andalusia, and of the armies of Portugal, gentleman of the bed-chamber to his catholic majesty :*

*Whom God preserve.*

‘ WHEREAS nothing has been more conspicuous to the whole world, than the treasonable practices of John late duke of Braganza ; be also his damnable intentions known, of seducing, and tainting with disloyalty, the faithful family of the Gusmans, which ever has been, and for the future ever shall be, most true and loyal to the king their master, in whose service so many of them have shed their blood. This usurper has endeavoured to insinuate into the minds of foreign princes, as well as of his own rebel Portuguese, that I would aid and assist him, and enter into his measures ; hoping thereby to keep up the spirits of those who have joined with him, and to put me out of favour with the king my master, whom God preserve, thinking that by these means he should alienate my duty and affection from my master, and then I should consent to his cursed designs, without that repugnance which he has found in me. And the better to accomplish his design, he has made use of a monk, who was sent by the town

‘ of Daíamonti, to Castro-Marino in Portugal, to  
‘ treat about the ransom of a prisoner : Which  
‘ monk, being carried to Lisbon, was suborned,  
‘ and persuaded to give out, that I was engaged  
‘ in the conspiracy, and that I would permit any  
‘ foreign army to land in Andalusia, to favour  
‘ their designs : and to give the better colour to  
‘ his story, he shewed some forged letters, and  
‘ which he pretended to have received from me.

‘ All this was done with a design to persuade  
‘ several princes to send him some forces, and  
‘ would to God they had, that I might have shewn  
‘ my loyalty, by destroying them, and their ships ;  
‘ which will easily appear to have been my in-  
‘ tent, by the orders which I left on all the  
‘ coasts.

‘ These things have been a sore affliction to  
‘ me ; but what grieves me still more, is, that  
‘ his wife should be my sister, whose blood I  
‘ would gladly shed, since by rebellion tainted  
‘ and corrupted, that I might give an evident  
‘ proof of my loyalty to my king, and efface all  
‘ those suspicions, which these rumours may have  
‘ imprinted in the minds of the people.

‘ For these reasons therefore, I challenge the  
‘ said John, late duke of Braganza, as being a  
‘ traitor both to God and his king, and invite him  
‘ to meet me in person, and in single combat try  
‘ our fortune, with, or without seconds, and  
‘ armed in what manner he pleases : the place shall  
‘ be near Valentia d’ Alcantra, which is on the  
‘ frontiers both of Castile and Portugal, and where

‘ I will wait for him fourscore days, from the  
 ‘ first of October, to the nineteenth of December,  
 1641. ‘ of this present year. The twenty last  
 ‘ days I will wait for him in person, and  
 ‘ on the time which he shall appoint, I will en-  
 ‘ ter the lists; which time, though it be long, I  
 ‘ give him, not only that he, the said tyrant, but  
 ‘ also that all Europe, nay, that the whole world  
 ‘ may know it. To this end, I will send ten  
 ‘ chevaliers a league within Portugal; as also, he  
 ‘ shall send ten a league within Castile, as hosta-  
 ‘ ges, and on that day I will shew him the hei-  
 ‘ nousness and baseness of his crime.

‘ But if he, the said John, late duke of Bra-  
 ‘ ganza, should fail meeting me, to give me  
 ‘ gentleman-like satisfaction, and thereby deprive  
 ‘ me of the opportunity of shewing my loyalty  
 ‘ to the king, my master, and the natural hatred  
 ‘ which our family has to traitors; I offer, with  
 ‘ submission to his catholic majesty, whom God  
 ‘ preserve, my good town of St. Lucar de Bara-  
 ‘ meda, which always has been the seat of the  
 ‘ dukes of Medina Sidonia, to any man who shall  
 ‘ kill him. To which end, I beg of his catholic  
 ‘ majesty, that I may not have any longer the  
 ‘ command of the army, which is to march a-  
 ‘ gainst him, being so transported with rage, that  
 ‘ I should not be master of the sedateness and  
 ‘ conduct, which are so necessary to a general;  
 ‘ but that his majesty would give me leave to be  
 ‘ only at the head of a thousand of my own peo-  
 ‘ ple, on whose courage, as well as my own, I



' may rely, that in case the said usurper should  
' not accept my challenge, we may bring him  
' dead or alive to his said majesty. And that I  
' may not be thought to be wanting in my duty  
' to my king, I offer one of my best towns to the  
' first governor, or other officer, belonging to  
' the usurper, who will surrender any place to  
' the king my master ; never thinking that I can  
' do enough for his service, since to him, and  
' to his glorious ancestors, I owe all that I en-  
' joy.'

Given at Toledo, the 29th of  
September, 1641.

ACCORDING to his promise, the duke of Medina appeared in the lists, followed by Don John de Garraý, lieutenant general of the Spanish cavalry; there the duke of Braganza was summoned in a formal manner: but that prince was too prudent to play a part in this farce; or had the thing been of a more serious nature, a sovereign prince was not to venture his life against a subject of his enemy.

While Olivarez amused the people in this manner, he was also taking care to turn the resentment of the king and people upon the marquis Daia-monti, whom he intended to prove the only guilty person: to this end, he flattered him with the hopes of a pardon, and that, as well as the duke of Medina, he should taste the bounties of a merciful prince, provided he would be open in his confession; but that kings, like God, whose images they were, never forgave any, but those who heartily and sincerely repented them of their crimes.

The marquis trusting to this promise, which the duke of Medina's example gave him no room to doubt of, signed a paper which d' Olivarez brought him, and which he immediately put into the hands of those who were to try him. Upon this confession of his, he was indicted, and condemned to be beheaded. When the judge passed sentence, he heard it without the least concern, or so much as murmuring at Olivarez, or the duke. The same night he supped as heartily

as usual, and when they came to lead him to execution the next morning, he was still asleep. He walked to the place of execution, and ascended the scaffold, without speaking one word, whilst a contempt of death might be read in his looks, and died with courage and resolution worthy of a better cause. Such was the end of a conspiracy, from which the king of Spain escaped merely by accident, or rather by a decree of providence, which cannot connive at crimes of this nature, and will seldom suffer treachery to prevail.

The king of Portugal, seeing this project miscarry, resolved to maintain himself on the throne no longer by such clandestine means, but by open force, and the assistance of his allies. France seemed particularly to take the house of Braganza under its protection, as being the most antient branch of their own royal family.

The foreign war so employed the Spanish forces, that the Portuguese had always the advantage over them, and they drove them still farther from their frontiers. The king might easily at that time have entered into the very center of Castile, had he had a good general, and disciplined soldiers; but his army was chiefly composed of militia, fitter to make sudden incursions into the enemy's country, than to bear the fatigue of a regular campaign. Another thing that hindered his making a greater progress with his army, was, that he had not money enough to pay them, and consequently not forces enough on foot; for as at his coming to the crown, he had taken off all tax-

es from the people, that they might the better relish his government, and had only his own estate to defray the expences of the war; nor would he ever venture to lay new taxes upon them. But this want of his was partly recompensed by the necessity of Spain, who at that time had no better generals than the Portuguese, and whose treasures, towards the latter end of Philip the fourth's reign, were exhausted.

On the sixth of November, 1656. died this prince: in all the encomiums and panegyrics made upon him by the Portuguese, he is celebrated for his piety and moderation. Foreign historians upbraid him with cowardice, and report, that he always distrusted both himself and others: that it was a difficult point, especially for the grandees, to get access to him; and that he was free with no one but his ancient domestic servants, especially with one that was always in company with his confessor. In short, from what we can gather of his life, he was a peaceable and religious prince, and endowed with qualities which would better have become a private gentleman than a monarch; so that we can attribute his being raised to the throne, only to the inveterate hate which the Portuguese bore the Castilians, and to the ambition, courage, and counsels of his queen, whom by his last will he named regent of the kingdom during his son's minority; nor doubting but that one who could raise herself to a throne, would not want courage to preserve it for her children. He left behind him two sons and a daughter; the el-



der of the sons was Don Alphonso, of a peevish and melancholy temper, who had quite lost the use of one side, and was at the time of his father's death near thirteen years old ; Don Pedro, the younger, was but eight : Donna Catharina, their sister, was older than either of them, and was born before the revolution.

Don Alphonso was immediately shewn to the people, and proclaimed king, and the queen took the regency upon her. This princess would willingly have signalized herself by some glorious action, but the commanders of the Portuguese army were fitter for soldiers than generals, and there was not an officer amongst them, who was engineer enough to know how to fortify a place, or besiege a town. Nor was there a man in the privy-council, who could be looked upon as a statesman ; most of them could indeed make fine speeches, and elaborate discourses, upon the necessities of the state, and the misfortunes in which it would probably fall ; but never a one of them knew how to prevent, or remedy them.

TO these evils we must attribute the ill success of her arms before Olivenza and Badajos, where the Spaniards obliged them to raise the siege. Besides this, they had fallen out with the Dutch about the trade to the Indies ; and the French, after the Pyrenean treaty, seemed to have forgot them.

The queen finding herself without any regular troops, without able officers or good counsellors,

and without foreign alliances, was obliged by her courage, capacity, and application, to supply the want of all these; she herself discharged the duty of a secretary of state, and took care to keep a good correspondence with all the courts of Europe, which might be serviceable to her: in short, had she never encountered all these difficulties, she could not have revealed all those "hidden virtues, which shun the day, and lie concealed in the smooth seasons, and the calms of life."

By such care and diligence, for a long time she saved Portugal from that ruin which threatened it; but Spain now pouring all its forces in upon her, she found herself unable to resist them, unless she could procure better officers. To this end, she cast her eyes upon Frederic count of Schomberg, whose name and valour were already sufficiently known. She would willingly have given him the chief command of the army, but was afraid at this juncture of disobliging her generalissimo; wherefore she ordered the count de Soure, her ambassador in France, to treat with the count de Schomberg about his coming into Portugal, where he should have only the title of lieutenant-general; but in case of the death, or resignation of the present commander, he should be made generalissimo of all her forces.

The count set out for Lisbon with fourscore officers, and about four hundred horsemen, all veterans, who perfectly understood the discipline of

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an army, and would upon occasion make good leaders.

Before the count went into Portugal, he made a voyage into England, where he saw king Charles the second, who was lately restored : he had private orders from the regent, to endeavour to discover whether king Charles might be brought to marry the infanta of Portugal. The count negotiated this business with so much address, that he made both the king and chancellor Hyde desirous of this alliance. The queen, extremely satisfied with what he had done, desired him to hasten into Portugal, and sent the marquis de Sande to conclude the business.

But the king of Spain, foreseeing what might be the consequence of this match, did all he could to prevent it ; he offered to give any protestant princess three millions for her portion, provided the king would marry her ; and by his ambassador proposed the princesses of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange. But the chancellor represented to the king, how nearly it concerned him to maintain the house of Braganza on the throne, and not let Philip become master of all Spain, and the Indies. His speech produced the desired effect, and king Charles married the infanta. Thus did a protestant statesman persuade his sovereign to marry a catholic princess, whilst a prince of the Roman communion, who valued himself in a particular manner upon the title of the most catholic king, offered him vast sums of money, to engage him to wed a protestant.

Shortly after, king Charles, by his mediation, established a treaty of commerce between the states of Holland and the crown of Portugal; after which he sent a considerable number of troops into that kingdom, commanded by the earl of Inchequin; but having recalled him, he ordered that the forces should stay under the command of Schomberg; so that the count shortly saw himself at the head of the chosen forces of three kingdoms. Not but that there was a Portuguese generalissimo, or at least one who had the title, but the count had all the authority, which he made use of to establish an exact and regular discipline amongst the Portuguese. He taught them the order of marching, encamping, besieging, and regularly fortifying a town; so that all those places on the frontiers of the kingdom, which were before naked and defenceless, soon became capable of making a vigorous defence.

The regent queen, proud of having met with such a general, carried the war vigorously on, and her arms were almost every where crowned with success: never were the Portuguese forces better disciplined; the people blessed her government, the grandees continued in perfect submission to it through fear and respect: but though fortune favoured her abroad, she met with domestic cares and troubles, which changed the face of every thing.

Whilst the regent was taking care to place the crown with surety on her son's head, he, on the other hand, endeavoured to make himself unwor-



thy of it, by his irregular manner of living ; he was mean-spirited, melancholy, and cruel, could not bear the authority of his mother, and despised the advices of his governors and ministers ; he always refused the company of the lords of his household, and would divert himself with none but negroes, mulattoes, and all the scum of the Lisbonite youth : and spite of the care of his governors, he had got a little court composed of such like people, whom he called his brávoes, with whom he used to scour the streets all night, and insult all those who unfortunately fell into his way.

This disorder of mind had been first caused by a palsy, which had afflicted him when about four years of age, and which had made fatal impressions not only on his limbs, but also on his brain. Whilst he was young, his faults had been winked at by his tutors, who thought that so infirm a child could never bear the fatigues of a severe education, and hoped that time would both strengthen his body, and sweeten his temper : but this indulgence ruined him. It is true, that by the assistance of remedies, and help of time, his constitution grew stronger ; he could fence, ride, and bear any fatigue ; but his temper never became better. His passions encreasing with his age, they soon prevailed over his reason, which was but weak, and he gave a loose to licentiousness and debauchery. He would bring common prostitutes into the palace, fetch them himself from the stews, and very often spend whole nights amongst them there.

The queen, overwhelmed with grief, and fearing that the irregularity of her son would at once destroy the labours of her whole life, resolved several times within herself to have him confined, and make his brother reign in his stead; but dreading to excite a civil war, which would have favoured the Spanish arms, she dropped the bold design: sometimes she hoped the king might yet be reclaimed, especially if he was deprived of the company of Conti, a merchant's son, his first favourite, and companion of all his debaucheries. To this end she had Conti privately seized, and carried on board a ship which was bound for Brazil, with orders that he should never return to Portugal on pain of death.

The king at first seemed very much grieved at the loss of his favourite, but comforting himself by little and little, he was at last pacified, and seemed very much altered for the better, would hearken to advice, and paid the queen an unusual respect, who was congratulated by the ministry and the whole court, upon the extraordinary success of her enterprize.

But this apparent tranquillity and alteration of the king's, was only a veil to cover a deep design, and of which his mother never thought him capable; so that this princess, who could read in the very hearts of the most dissembling courtiers, was over-reached by a half-witted youth.

The king had complained of Conti's banishment to the count de Castel-Melhor, a Portuguese nobleman, of an illustrious birth, subtle and in-

sinuating, but fitter to manage a court-intrigue, than a business of importance. The count thought that a fair opportunity offered of supplying Conti's place in the king's favour; wherefore to ingratiate himself, he deplored the exile's misfortune, and promised to use his utmost endeavours to have him recalled. He told the prince at the same time, that it was in his own power to remedy this, or any grievance of the like nature; that he was of age, and had been so a great while; that he might as soon as he pleased take the supreme command upon himself, then recall Conti, and let him triumph over the queen, and all his other enemies.

The king was pleased with this advice, and determined to follow it; the count was his sole confidant and favourite: however, he desired the king that their intimacy should still be a secret, that the queen might not suspect him: but it could not be long concealed from this princess, who, meeting him one day in the king's train, caught him by the arm, and staring him in the face with that majestic air, which made every one tremble; "I am informed, count, said she, that the king is wholly governed by your counsels; take therefore good care of him, for if he does any thing to thwart me, your life shall answer it."

The count, without answering, made a submissive bow, and followed the king, who called him; as soon as he was alone with him, he gave him an account of what the queen had said: "I suppose, continued he, that I shall shortly share Conti's fate, but yet with joy should I go to banish-

“ment, could I at the same time see my king shake  
 “off the authority of an imperious mother, who  
 “will let him enjoy the title, but never the power  
 “of a sovereign.”

This artful discourse threw the prince into a violent passion, and he would go immediately and take the royal authority from the queen, by taking the great seal, which is the mark of it; but the court, who knew too well what the consequence of this would be, advised him to retire to Alcantra, and from thence to send couriers to the magistrates of Lisbon, and to all the governors of provinces, to let them know that he was of age, and had taken the government upon himself.

The king approved the counsel, and having that evening disguised himself, he left the palace, followed only by the court and a few friends. That night they arrived at Alcantra, from whence he sent orders to the secretaries of state, and to the German guard, to come to him; and at the same time dispatched couriers to every town of Portugal, to let them know that he was of age, and by consequence the regency of the queen at an end.

Most of the court set out for Alcantra, and the queen saw herself in a manner forsaken; notwithstanding which, she resolved to lay down her authority as became her: wherefore she wrote to the king, to ask him the reason why he took possession of the throne like an usurper, that had no right to it; and added, that if he would return to Lisbon, she would lay down her authority in presence of



the grandees and the magistrates. The king accordingly returned, and the queen having summoned the grandees, magistrates, and others of the nobility, to attend her, in presence of the assembly took the seals out of the great purse, and putting them into her son's hand, "Here are," said she, the seals, which, together with the regency, were entrusted to my care by the will of my late sovereign lord: I return them to your majesty with all the authority, which they are the emblems of; I heartily pray God that you may make a good use of them, and that your reign may be as prosperous as I can wish it." The king took the seals, and gave them to the first secretary of state; after which the prince, and all the grandees, kissed his hand, and acknowledged him their sovereign.

The queen dowager had given out, that she intended in six months time to retire into a convent, but that six months she would spend at court, to see what measures the young king would take. But the favourite count, who still dreaded that princess, who knew her towering genius, and was sensible of the natural sway which a mother has over the mind of her son, persuaded the king to treat her most inhumanly, that by frequent affronts he might oblige her to leave the court much sooner than she intended. The queen, who was of a haughty temper, could not bear to be thus used, but immediately threw herself into a convent; where being fully satisfied of the vanities of human greatness, she spent the remainder of her

time, which was scarce a year, in preparing herself for another world, and died on the eighteenth of February, 1666. lamented by the whole nation: for never was there a princess of a more extraordinary genius, or more amply endowed with all the virtues requisite to either the one or the other sex. Whilst on the throne, she shewed a truly great and heroic soul; when she quitted it for a religious life, she seemed entirely to have forgotten what pomp and grandeur were, and all her ambition then was to deserve heaven.

The king, who now saw himself fully at liberty, and no longer feared the prudent queen's just reproofs, gave a loose to his passions, and indulged his pernicious inclinations. He would scour the streets at night with his bravoës, and abuse every one he met with; nor did the watch fare better than their neighbours. Never a night did he ramble, but the next morning tragical histories were published, of several who had been wounded or murdered in the streets; and people fled before him with greater fear than they would before a hungry lion, just broke loose from his den.

The count de Castel Melhor was his first minister; he was an intriguing, insinuating courtier, but far from being an able statesman: haughty in prosperity, fawning and timorous in adversity. In his hands were the reins of the government, the king reserved no authority to himself, but that of doing what mischief he pleased unpunished; nor did the count ever make it his business to

reclaim him, well knowing that the king's follies and his authority were inseparable.

The Spaniards flattered themselves with the hopes of easily reducing Portugal, whilst it had such a monarch as Don Alphonso. To this end they sent a strong army against it, under the command of Don John of Austria, natural son to Philip IV. The king of Portugal sent Schomberg to oppose him, notwithstanding the count de Villa-Flor had the title of generalissimo. And to the count of Schomberg's courage and conduct it was that Don Alphonso owed the preservation of his crown; he beat the Spaniards several times, notwithstanding what Villa-Flor did; who, jealous of his glory, endeavoured all he could to cross his measures, and had effectually done it, had not Schomberg's interest been greater both at court and in the army, which joyfully obeyed the commands of their brave leader, who always led them to a certain victory.

Castel-Melhor did all he could to persuade the people, that this happy success was owing to him; though, if the truth had been searched into, it would have appeared that all he could justly boast of, was his being the first man to whom the news was sent. By these means the minister's credit increased, and he actually enjoyed the sovereign authority. The king was nothing but a piece of clock-work, whose springs he could wind up, and put into what motion he pleased. The barbarity of his temper he made use of, to ruin and destroy all those of whom he was jealous; amongst these were the greatest

part of the late queen's ministry: so that there was a strange alteration at court; all places were filled with the count's creatures; nor could any one hope for favour, but those who took care to please the favourite. Melhor went farther than this; for Conti being recalled, he got him banished a second time; for no sooner was he landed, but the king sent him an express, to congratulate him upon his safe arrival, and Melhor, by the same express, sent him orders not to come near the court: such a sway had this minister over his sovereign, that he durst not contradict his orders, but for fear of displeasing him, was obliged to see Conti in private. The count had notice of it, and fearing, that should their antient intimacy be renewed, there would be no place left for him in the king's favour, had him accused of a design upon the prince's life; and though there were no witnesses found, no proofs, no probabilities of his guilt, yet sentence of banishment was passed upon him.

The count, no longer apprehensive of Conti, began to consider how he should secure his interest at court, in case of any accident. To this end he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Don Pedro, the king's brother, but a prince of a quite different character: his soul was truly great, and his inclinations noble; his actions princely, and his manner of living regular: the Portuguese admired, or rather adored him, for he had not his own virtues only, but his brother's vices also, to set him off.

To this end, Melhor placed a brother of his in



the prince's household, and ordered him to do all he could to insinuate himself into his master's favour, as he had into the king's; hoping by these means to govern both the princes.

Don Pedro used him with all the civility imaginable, and shewed him more than common respect; but as for giving him any place in his favour, or confidence, he could not; the whole was taken up. The late queen having always looked upon her younger son as the hopes and support of her family, she had taken care to put about him none but those, whose wisdom, learning, and integrity, might entitle them to a share of the prince's love; such were his governors, and of such chiefly were his household composed. These had taken care to let the prince know, that he need not despair of one day wearing the crown of Portugal, for that there was no great likelihood of his brother's ever having any children; but at the same time they told him, that there was nothing but *Melhor* was capable of doing, to keep him from inheriting the crown, since he was well assured that he must never hope for any share in the ministry, when Don Pedro should ascend the throne.

By degrees these different views and interests divided the court into two cabals; the count indeed had the greatest number on his side, there being more who love to go with the stream, than against it. But the ablest statesmen, who plainly saw that so violent and arbitrary a government could not last long, with all the grandees, and the best of the nobility, who would not cringe to

such a favourite as the king's was, were always about the prince, to whom they paid their respects as to the heir apparent.

The count, being sensible that the hope of the adverse faction was founded upon the infirmity of the king, determined to destroy it at once, by marrying him ; and by his advice a match was proposed and concluded between the king and Mary-Elizabeth-Frances of Savoy, daughter to Charles duke of Nemours, and Elizabeth de Vendome. Cæsar d'Estrees, a relation of hers, bishop and duke of Laon, and known all over Europe by the name of the illustrious cardinal d'Estrees, conducted her into Portugal, accompanied with the marquis de Ruvigni, the French ambassador, and several other persons of quality.

This marriage was celebrated with all the pomp and magnificence imaginable. The whole court admired the young queen's extraordinary beauty, but no one was more sensibly affected with it than the prince. The king was the only person who seemed regardless of her charms, and who by his indifference soon convinced the whole nation, that he had taken the name of a husband, but was not capable of discharging the duty of one.

Count Melhor had at first flattered himself with the hopes of governing the queen as well as the king, but soon found that she had too great a spirit for such a submission. Enraged at this, he resolved to lose no opportunity of revenging himself; all public business was carefully hid from her, all her desires were crossed; her recommendation cer-

tainly excluded any person from the place to which she recommended him. Shortly after, neither the expences of her household, nor her own pensions were paid, under pretence that the war and other necessities of the state had exhausted the royal treasury. And so insolent was this haughty minister to every body, to the prince himself, but especially to the queen, that she has been often seen coming out of the king's apartment bathed in tears.

Her beauty, her merits, her misfortunes, and the complaints of all the ladies of the court, and the officers of the queen's household, whose salaries were stopped, touched the heart of all those who had not an immediate dependance on the minister; and these formed a third party at court, where nothing now was talked of but the improbability of the queen's having any children, though she had not yet been married a year.

What encreased every one's suspicion, was the report which was spread of a private door, which by the king's order was made in the queen's chamber, and opened just against her bed-side, and of which he himself kept the key. The queen was alarmed at the novelty of the thing, and the danger to which she saw her honour exposed. And many concluded, that this was an artifice of Melhor's, who, notwithstanding the infirmity of the king, was nevertheless resolved that the queen should have children.

The poor unfortunate princess discovered her apprehensions to her confessor, with orders to impart them to the prince's. These two religious

men advised them to unite their cabals, and go hand in hand together in a matter so much the concern of them both. The count of Schomberg was easily drawn into this party, and the prince took care to make himself beloved by the magistrates of the city, and all those who had any influence over the people.

It would have been a very easy matter to have pushed the king from out his throne, had he not had a minister to support him, who was ambitious, could govern the king as he pleased, make him do any thing, and who would spare no pains to preserve himself at the head of affairs; the only way therefore of compassing their ends, was to remove this man, which was at last brought about in this manner. One of his friends was bribed to tell him, that the prince had sworn he would sacrifice him, if he continued any longer at court. The count upon this information doubled the guards, armed all the officers of the household, and would have had the king go at the head of them, and seize the prince. But as furious as the king was in his midnight-revels and debauches, he had not courage enough to attempt any thing of this nature, justly fearing that he should meet with no small resistance. Wherefore he only wrote a letter to the prince, to order him to come to the palace. He excused himself, objecting that he could not come whilst the count was at court, who had spread so many stories to his disadvantage, and endeavoured all he could to blast his reputation; besides which, the count was master of the palace,



and that therefore he feared he could not be in safety there. Several letters passed between the king and prince; the former offered, that Melhor should come, and on his knees beg his pardon. But this was not what the prince wanted, and he openly refused to come to court till Melhor was banished from it.

The news of this had put Lisbon into a strange confusion, and a civil war was just breaking out; but Melhor with grief perceived that Schomberg favoured the other party, and that the grandees of the kingdom had all unanimously declared themselves in favour of the prince; who, assisted also by the queen's friends, grew too powerful for him. Nay, Melhor's very relations, and those whom he had raised, forsook him, and told him, that if he must sink, he should sink alone. Wherefore disguising himself, he by night escaped from the palace, and retired to a monastery seven leagues from Lisbon; which he soon after left, to seek a sure refuge in the court of Turin.

Upon this the prince immediately came to the palace, to pay his devoirs to the king; every thing fell under his management, and he soon dispersed all the late favourite's creatures. The king, destitute of counsel, lay at the prince's mercy, who had a design upon, but durst not as yet touch his crown, for fear of being thought an usurper; but waited with patience till it should be given him by lawful authority; that is, by a decree of the states of the kingdom.

But then it was in the king's power only to call

together this assembly of the states, which he was often advised to do, there being an absolute necessity of their meeting, to remedy the present grievances of the nation.

The king was not so weak, but he plainly perceived that this advice was given him, with a design to transfer the royalty from himself to his brother; wherefore he long refused it, but was at last so pressed to it, both by his council, and by different petitions from several parts of the kingdom, that he called them together, and they were ordered to meet on the first of January, 1667.

The prince having obtained this, which he looked upon as a sure step to the throne, gave the queen notice, that it was time for her now to appear, and play her part. Upon which she immediately retired into a convent, and wrote a letter to the king, to tell him, that she thought herself in conscience obliged to quit the palace, since he was not capable of being her husband; that he was very sensible that their marriage was never consummated, and that therefore she begged that he would repay her her portion, and give her leave to return to her country, and amongst her own relations.

Upon the receipt of this letter, the king in a great rage flew towards the convent, to fetch the queen back to the palace by force; but the prince, who foresaw the effect of her message, took care to be at the convent-door, with all the nobility, and told his brother this was a place too sacred to have any violence used in it, and persuaded, or

rather forced the king to return to the palace, who all the way complained of being calumniated, and was bringing half the prostitutes of Lisbon to prove his virility, and swore that he would be revenged both on the queen and the prince.

But Don Pedro was not in the least frightened at his menaces, knowing that the whole power of the kingdom was in his own hands; and the next morning (thinking it un-  
Nov. 23.  
1667.  
safe to delay the mighty work any longer) ordered the council to assemble, and followed by the nobility, the magistracy, and a whole croud of people, who wanted to see the event of this business, he went into the palace to them; and after a short debate, an order was sent by the prince to arrest the king, who shortly after this signed his own abdication.

Notwithstanding this, the prince would not take any other title, but that of regent; under which name the states of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance to him.

The next thing he did, was to secure a peace with Spain; the king of England made himself their mediator, and Spain, by a solemn treaty, acknowledged the crown of Por-  
Feb. 13.  
1668.  
tugal independent of the crown of Spain.

But one thing was still wanting to complete the regent's happiness: he loved his sister-in-law; who, as soon as she was got into the convent, had presented a petition to the chapter  
Nov. 22.  
1667.  
of the cathedral of Lisbon, to desire them, during the vacancy of the Holy See, that a mar-

riage which had remained unconsummated, after a cohabitation of fifteen months, might be dissolved. The chapter declared it invalid,

March 24. 1668. " without any other judicial formalities, than the negation of the pro-

" stor, and the non-appearance of the party complained against ; the impediment, as the sentence imports, being reduced to a moral certainty, without any necessity of farther proofs, " or a longer delay."\* And by means of these formalities, which the judges, for the generality, know how to accommodate to the inclinations of those who hold the reins of government ; the regent beheld himself qualified to marry the queen. He was advised, however, " to preserve the air " of decorum as much as possible," to procure a dispensation from the holy see. This was effected by a casual conjunction of happy circumstances, which it must be confessed, seemed to have been not a little premeditated ; that monsieur Verjus should arrive in France, at this very juncture, with the dispensation. A brief had been also obtained from the cardinal de Vendosme, who was then the pope's legate a latere, and had been invested with that temporary honour, to assist, in the name of his holiness, at the ceremony of the dauphin's baptism. The bishop of  
March 2. 1668. Targa, coadjutor to the archbishop of Lisbon, gave the nuptial benediction to the regent and the queen, by virtue of that brief,

\* See a relation of the troubles in the court of Portugal. Printed at Paris for Clousier, 1674.



which has since been confirmed by another of pope INNOCENT the XIth, and which Dec. 10. was thought necessary for the satisfaction of their consciences, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. 1668.

The king, Don ALPHONSO, was confined to the islands of Tercera, which are part of the Portuguese dominions. Don Alphonso's exile.

The populace, who always interest themselves in the calamities of the unfortunate, took the liberty to declare aloud, that it was sufficient to have deprived him of his crown and consort, without refusing him the privilege of breathing his native air. But a prince, when he is once dethroned, is seldom so happy as to find many protectors. There was not one of the grandees who would presume to intercede in his favour; and they had reason to be apprehensive, that the regent would not pardon any instances of compassion that were injurious to his government. Don Alphonso continued in his exile till the year 1675. when he was recalled by the Regent, who permitted him to return to Portugal, from a suspicion he had entertained, that this prince had formed a party to dispossess the crown of the islands of Tercera, and to re-establish himself on the throne.

He died in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, Anno 1683; and upon his demise, the Regent, Don PEDRO, at last, assumed the title of king, which he would not during his brother's life accept; and this was, in fact, the only property of which he had not before divested that unfortunate prince.



A N  
A P P E N D I X  
O F S O M E  
Very Material PARTICULARS  
RELATING TO THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
P O R T U G A L.

Now first Translated from the last Edition of this WORK, Printed at Paris, in the Year 1726.



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# A P P E N D I X.

## NUMB. I.

### LAWS Regulating the PORTUGUESE SUCCESSION.

In an Assembly of the Grandees of Portugal, the Fundamental Laws which regulate the Succession to the Crown were established.

**M**AY OUR SOVEREIGN LORD ALPHON-  
SO LIVE, AND REIGN OVER US, as is  
expressed in the first ARTICLE of these LAWS, viz.  
“ If he shall have male issue, they shall be our  
“ kings. The son shall succeed the father, and  
“ then the grandson, and afterwards the son of  
“ the great grandson, and their descendants in  
“ perpetual succession.”

## ARTICLE II.

“ IF the eldest son of the king shall die in the  
“ life-time of his father, the second son shall be  
“ our sovereign after the demise of the king his  
“ father ; the third son shall succeed the second ;  
“ the fourth shall reign after the third : and in  
“ like manner with relation to the other sons of  
“ the king.”

## ARTICLE III.

“ IF the king shall die without male issue, his  
 “ brother, if there be one, shall be our king ;  
 “ but the crown shall be only limited to him  
 “ during his life ; for upon his demise the son  
 “ of this last king shall not be our sovereign,  
 “ unless he be elected by the bishops and the  
 “ states, and then he shall be our king, and upon  
 “ no other condition.”

## ARTICLES IV and V.

“ IF the king of Portugal should have no child  
 “ but a daughter, she shall be queen after the de-  
 “ mise of the king, provided she consent to mar-  
 “ ry a Portuguese nobleman ; but he shall not  
 “ bear the title of king, till he shall have a son  
 “ by the queen he espoused : and whenever he  
 “ shall be in company with the queen, he shall  
 “ walk on her left hand, and shall not place the  
 “ royal crown on his head.”

## ARTICLE VI.

“ THIS law shall be always observed ; and the  
 “ eldest daughter of the king shall not espouse  
 “ any person but a Portuguese nobleman, to the  
 “ intent that foreign princes may never become  
 “ masters of this kingdom. If the king's daugh-  
 “ ter shall espouse a prince or a nobleman of a  
 “ foreign nation, she shall never be acknowleg-  
 “ ed as queen, because our people shall not be ob-  
 “ liged to obey a king who is not a Portuguese



“ by birth ; since they were our own subjects and  
“ countrymen, who, without any foreign affi-  
“ stance, but by their own valour, and with the  
“ expence of their blood, have given us a king.”

THESE wise laws preserved the crown, for many centuries, in the royal house of ALPHONSO; and his successors increased the splendor and power of the monarchy by several important conquests

The conquests and  
eulogium  
of the Por-  
tuguese.

in Africa, the Indies, and even America itself. The Portuguese can never be too much applauded for the intrepidity and conduct which they discovered in enterprizes so wonderful in their own nature, and transacted at such a distance from their native country. But amongst the advantages derived from such extended conquests, they have acquired the glory of propagating the Christian religion, and the knowledge of the true God, throughout idolatrous kingdoms, and among whole nations of Barbarians, wherein the spiritual conquests of the Portuguese missionaries have been as considerable as the victorious progress of their arms.

SUCH was the state of the kingdom of Portugal towards the year 1557, when Don SEBASTIAN ascended the throne: he was the posthumous son of the prince Don JOHN, who died before his father king Don JOHN the III<sup>d</sup>, who was the son of the great king EMANUEL.

IN the year 1640 the Spanish minister, that he might effectually weaken the Portuguese nobility, had issued out a proclamation, in the name of

Philip the fourth, commanding all the men of quality to resort immediately to the army which was to march against the Catalonians, upon pain of forfeiting all their estates which were held of the crown; and he flattered himself that the duke of Braganza, as he was hereditary constable of Portugal, could not possibly prevail upon himself to be absent upon this occasion. See page 28.

THE archbishop regent dispatched several couriers, one after another, to the duke of Braganza, to represent to him how important his presence would be at Lisbon. The last courier found him, on the monday, about the mid-way, in the plain of Montemor; where this timorous prince, to disguise the true cause of his journey, seemed to have no other intention than to divert himself with fowling. But when he had opened the regent's packet, he immediately took post-horses to carry him to Aldegalagua, which was eighteen leagues from the place where he was met by the courier; and upon his arrival there, having found a small vessel with two fishermen, he embarked, and ordered them to convoy him to Lisbon, cross the Tagus, which, in that place, is three leagues from one shore to the other. M. d' Ablancourt, envoy from the late king of France to the court of Portugal, relates, \* that this prince landed at the great area before the palace; which is an oblong square of a large extent, and bounded on one side by three courts of the palace of Alfardagua, and a few

\* See his Memoirs, which are translated into English, 8vo.



private houses, and on the other by the Tagus, from which it is separated by a low wall, built in form of a terrace. This spacious square was filled with an infinite number of people of all ranks, who, for two days past, had been in constant expectation of their king, with their eyes directed towards Aldegalegua; and not one of them, when they saw this fisher-boat, had the least suspicion that the king was on board; for he was not known by any person among that innumerable multitude which filled the square, but passed through the croud, like a private person, and continued undiscovered, till at last he ascended a scaffold, on which his throne was erected; and then he was proclaimed king, to the great joy of all the Portuguese. See page 80.

THE greatest part of the court set out for Alcantra, and the queen saw herself in a manner forsaken; which immediately convinced her, that a borrowed authority is incapable of subsisting any longer than it derives its support from a legal power.

THE princess, however, retained her usual presence of mind; and the generous and noble air with which she divested herself of sovereign authority, made it evident that she merited a longer reign, and had only protracted her regency for the public good. See page 130.

THIS unfortunate princess disclosed her conscientious scruples to her confessor, and by his directions imparted them to the Infant's confessor. These two clergymen advised the queen and prince

to deport themselves with unanimity in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the interests of them both were so very considerable, though they might seem to be opposite in their nature. Their partisans declared, that it would be easy to reconcile their pretensions; and endeavoured to revive the original plan which had been concerted by the regent. These two cabals soon united, and for the future composed one and the same party. The queen had the dexterity to make her views relished by the count de Schomberg, who had the army at his command; and the Infant, whose desires and expectations were altogether unbounded, at the same time engaged the chief magistrates of the city, and all those who were in any considerable credit with the people, to concur in the intended operations.

THE king himself was but a mere phantom of majesty, whose disappearance was easy to accomplish; but he was supported by an artful and ambitious minister, who had abilities to give importance to the venerable name of monarch. It was therefore of the utmost consequence to remove a man of so much capacity from court; since it was evident, that he intended to resign the reins of government as late as possible. In order to effect this design, one of his friends was prevailed upon to acquaint him, that the Infant charged him with all the injurious treatment he had received from the king, and had solemnly vowed his destruction, if he resolved to continue any longer at court. See page 142, 143.

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